Spaces, Places and States of Mind: a pragmatic ethnography of liminal critique.

Eric Paul Weissman

A Thesis

In the Special Individualized Programs: Social Sciences

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Special Individualized Program)

Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

November 14, 2013

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Eric Weissman

Entitled: Spaces, Places and States of Mind: a pragmatic ethnography of liminal critique.

And submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

Dr. Meir Amor_____Chair

Dr. Domenic Beneventi_____External Examiner

Dr. Steven High_____External to Program

Dr. Satoshi Ikeda_____Examiner

Dr. Eric Shragge_____Examiner

Dr. Greg Nielsen_____Thesis Supervisor

Approved by

_____
Chair of Department or Graduate Program Director

_____

_____
Dean of Faculty

Abstract

Spaces, Places and States of Mind: a pragmatic ethnography of liminal critique.

Eric Paul Weissman PhD.
Concordia University, 2013.

Intentional homeless communities, such as tent camps and shantytowns are increasingly entering political and academic debates about how to solve homelessness. Dignity Village Oregon, the first city licensed, homeless-built democratically self-governed, non-profit transitional housing community in US history, was the result of activists fighting for their rights to housing. It is central to debates about the role of homeless camps in various cities' housing strategies. The village has been criticized from within and by conventionally housed Oregonians for lack of sustainability, a series of impeachments of leadership, failure to transition people into conventional roles and for the drug epidemic that has much of the membership in its grip. Theorized here as a by-product of the intrinsic logical contradictions of democracy and the exigencies of poverty, villagers' liminality; their suspension between marginal and conventional statuses has an implicit function in the poverty management strategies of the city by keeping them off the streets and preventing them from organizing further.

Liminal space and the critical potential of homeless populations are under-theorized. Employing an interdisciplinary approach open to critical diversity called *pragmatic ethnography of critique* (PEOC), this dissertation uses video, participant observation and critical and reflexive storytelling from the point of views of participants to understand

how residents of such communities establish critical commitments to one another and housing activism.

Dignity's twelve-years of struggle are praised by housing activists as evidence of a noble fight for the rights of the poor but critics present it as a lawless, drug infested failure that should be closed. Villagers fear eviction. A solution is difficult to imagine. It is concluded that the village model is less satisfactory than conventional housing programs, but can have a temporary role in stemming homelessness. The village must engage in housing activism in order to empower itself in city politics. A hybridized form of self-governing in which village leadership, homeless advocates and city planners contribute to the political structure of the community is suggested as part of the solution.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank my sister Andrea and her husband, my special friend, Mark Daniels, for the time and magnanimous support they have given me without reserve; Zev Daniels, my oldest chum, for his support and texts; my mother's partner, Barry Callaghan who once wrote that he, "was not my father nor should he be, but more than that," and that you have been; my brother Peter, his wife Michelle and my sister Renay for their support and loyalty; and my many friends and fellow students who have from time to time dared to send a kind word.

Importantly I wish to thank my supervisor, Greg Nielsen, and my advisors Eric Shragge and Satoshi Ikeda. Greg pushed me in directions that have made me better than I was before. And Eric and Satoshi were there to ground me when I was deep in aporia. I also want to thank the entire Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Concordia. I feel like you are all mentors and friends; and notably to Darlene, Brad and the other folks at SIP (INDI) and The School of Graduate Studies who really stepped up to support my research when other external agencies had not.

I want to thank Bob, and Robert, and a couple of other street guys at the corner of rue Guy and rue St. Catherine, for taking time out of their days to chat with me and share a smile. My friends at St. Leon's have kept me sane. And Wendy and Heather at Kwamba, and to all the folks at Dignity Village – Thanks!

Lastly, and importantly, many thanks to Margaret Keatings who gave me a leg up in the dark times, and has been a close friend of my clan for many years.

Dedication

For my Mom.

Contributors

Nigel Dickson took a number of photographs in this dissertation. They are credited as (N. Dickson) and all were taken between July 16 -19 2011.

www.nigeldickson.com

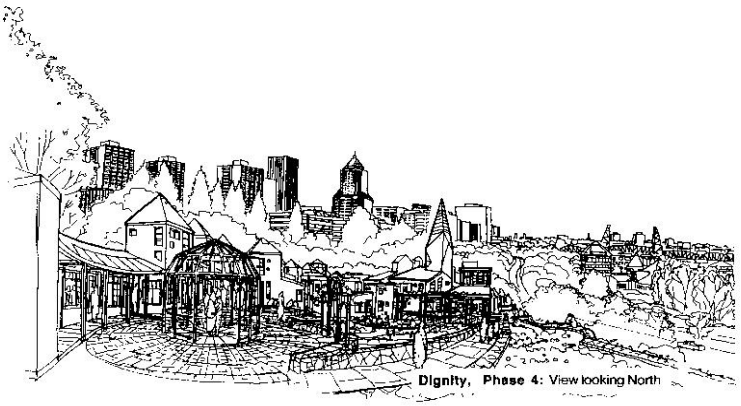
Table of Contents

Figures

DIGNITY VILLAGE
2001 & Beyond:

Outlining

Strategies for a Sustainable Future



Prepared by Dignity Village residents and supporters
for the City of Portland
and its homeless residents

Fig. 1. Cover page of the Village Plan- and Excerpt of Mission Statement 2001.

"…The Village will integrate itself within the city so as to be a contribution to the life of Portland, presenting a public face that will invigorate the life of adjoining streetscapes and public areas. Consistent with the structure of Dignity thus far, the Villagers will actively participate in the design and will literally build the phases of the Village through their own sweat-equity. The Public spaces will be designated, path and roadway infrastructure laid out, and the tent pods will be sited in anticipation of more permanent shared-housing structures to be built in Phase III.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In this section, I introduce the general context of the research, discuss my thesis and develop my central debates, and then I discuss my methods and the periods of research covered by this dissertation.

1.2 The General Context of Dignity Village

Each week, close to 146 million Americans have difficulty paying for at least one of the following: rent, food, clothing, medicine and transportation.[1] In a country ranked seventh in per capita wealth by Forbes Magazine for 2012, 47 million people out of these 146 million are considered by the US Government to live *below* the poverty line (NAEH 2011; HUD 20012). Approximately 3 million of these people suffer from some form of homelessness, which might be temporary, episodic or chronic; the majority is urban, of ethnic minorities and male.[2] *Chronic* homelessness, that is homelessness experienced multiple times or over extended periods, confounds housing authorities as a pervasive and historically troubling urban problem. Currently the United States federal government supports a *Housing First* and *Rapid Re-housing* approach to deal with the homeless problem. The former places homeless persons directly in apartments or other housing, sometimes with supports, before addressing issues of addiction or mental health that are frequently associated with the perpetual nature of this homelessness – housing first, issues later. The latter intervenes with families who are in jeopardy of losing housing

because of lack of rent or loss of jobs by offering temporary rent relief and family assistance. Such preventive programs currently constitute the backbone of Ten-Year Plans to End Homelessness, a widely implemented national strategy initiated by the Bush Administration in 2003 and embraced by Obama's "Opening Doors" program, and by now well established in the long term strategies most major cities pitch to federal funders for housing monies. Neither is currently effective at ending even sporadic homelessness. Chronic and literal homelessness, meaning that people have no shelter whatsoever, continue to baffle planners.

Very often, the chronically homeless have no choice but to pitch a tent, or to otherwise illegally inhabit empty urban spaces. An historic tension between so called street-engaged homeless people and city governance places them at the mercy of police who arrest and jail homeless people for urinating in laneways, or for sleeping on sidewalks, leaving only the scant shelter offerings of charitable organizations and poorly run shelters that offer a finite number of beds and services. At times, out of sheer necessity, street engaged homeless people group together and occupy bridge underpasses, abandoned buildings or parks in order to "squat" and establish places to sleep and congregate[3]. In most cities, police and municipal workers sweep such camps within 72 hours of posted warnings of trespass (DePastino 2003; Mitchell 2003; National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty 2007, 2012; Mosher 2010). One can argue then that American cities have not been kind to squatters and homeless tent camps except under unusually dark times, The Great Depression being a good example, and even then

such camps were seen as temporary, secondary alternatives to "proper" or conventional housing (DePastino 2003).

At the national level, due in large part to rapacious foreclosure actions in the U.S. in recent years that continue to spike the numbers of persons entering homelessness for the first time[4], a growing number of municipal governments have had to learn how to incorporate tent camps and large-scale homeless squats into their homeless management strategies[5] but outside of ten-year planning language. Since my last participant observation fieldwork for this dissertation in the emergency transitional housing camp Dignity Village, Portland in 2011, the cities of Seattle, Washington, Eugene and Ashland, Oregon, San Francisco and Sacramento, California have formed alliances with housing activists and homeless people to explore the possibility of building transitional housing camps or for extending the rights of those camps and shelters already in the midst of critical displacements, that is, in the midst of establishing themselves through protest, direct action and court battles within local strategic emergency housing policies. Communities specifically built around an organizational goal are called intentional communities; in this case, the organizing categories are *emergency* and *transitional* housing. Homeless tent camps, shantytowns and tent cities are all intentional communities.

This trend towards negotiation and consideration is neither predictable nor consistent. Political shifts on city councils, bad press from camps, and failed action by housing activists make it impossible to determine whether these negotiations will result

in actually incorporated homeless communities or merely extend the debate that has been going on for many decades. In cases, and as recently as June 2013, the city of Seattle has decided to abandon some of its currently "tolerated" temporary camp models such as the infamous "Nickelsville" (discussed later) in favor of conventional housing projects while Eugene, Oregon has just christened its first city sanctioned camp, "Opportunity Village," which is expected to start hosting residents in August of 2013. That the debate exists is evidence that the numbers of people who need help transitioning from homelessness into stable roles in society, understood here as a liminal transition is a major social problem.

Liminal is a descriptive concept brought into the social sciences in 1908 by Arnold Van Gennep. Liminal describes the transitional stage in the life of individuals when they are removed from antecedent social contexts and roles on the way to achieving new ones. He called these "rites of passage." In recent years, some attention has been paid to the liminal nature of homelessness, and to homeless people as *liminal personae,* Victor Turner's (1969) name for members occupying spaces of liminality like festivals or ritual processes (Turner 1969, 1985; Baumhol 1996; Hopper and Baumhol 2004; Leginski 2007; Weissman 2012). Understood as "liminality," the quality of being liminal has common usage in the social sciences, a use which extends beyond anthropology into many areas of social and cultural analysis (Myerhoff 1982; St. John 2001; Harper and Baumhol 2004; Topinka 2010). Liminal mental and physical spaces are dark and suspicious, ambiguous and feared. People stuck in liminal phases or going through this phase, were and are regarded as unclear, impure and as-yet defined as

successful because their transition to expected roles and status is not complete. Turner suggested that inverting and experimenting with roles and statuses was vital to social structural stability, and he envisioned a ludic and experimental space for this called "communitas" (1967). Communitas however is a temporary space like those found in festivals or performances, and does not bear the mantle of responsibility for transiting people from ludic to real statuses. Homelessness is rarely ludic, and increasingly permanent. In the West, liminality amongst the homeless is under-theorized[6] but we know that length of homelessness is associated with the severity of addictions, mental illness, physical disabilities and high mortality rates (NCH 2011; NAEH 2012; HUD 2012). Since few examples have been established, our knowledge of how the struggle for intentional homeless communities helps people transcend liminality is weak. As spaces designed to facilitate transition from marginal to conventional statuses, such communities are liminal spaces, and so in order to theorize their role in the world of homeless strategies, we must confront ambiguity and diversity as the basis for meaningful social critique. This is no mean task.

Dignity Village is the primary site of this research. Established on the outskirts of Portland in 2001, it resulted from the collective critical action of housing activists who rallied together, exploited a loophole in state law, and won the right to a democratically self-governed emergency campground. The village's mission is to house homeless people, help them get a footing back into conventional roles and to continue to fight for the rights of the homeless. It currently houses 56 people in 49 crudely constructed

shacks, on two acres of swept off composting tarmac, next to an airport, a prison and a shipping depot. As the first and longest running city sanctioned, legally contracted emergency homeless camp in the US, the village is part of the ongoing debate about the place of intentional communities in the housing strategies of American cities. The continuum of debate over Dignity Village has always viewed the site as a lawless community of reckless and incapable junkies at one end, and as noble homeless activists fighting for the rights of the homeless at the other. In the past, the latter perspective has been the one that those of us interested in housing as a matter of social justice, *wanted* to see. We have observed how empowering social struggle is, even for the poorest amongst us, and how community building helps people transcend feelings of despair and disconnect (Weissman 2005; Biswas-Diener and Diener 2006; Mosher 2010; Weissman 2012). In 2010, when I began my fieldwork in Dignity Village, I had wanted to see how it was that community helped marginalized and homeless people reclaim their lives. I had theorized that political participation in the activist critique of the village helped people to overcome the limbo that homelessness had imposed on them. What I found was a community where any noble actioning of needs had long since faded away, a village where people spent more time fighting with one another than the political and economic system that produced their poverty, and where they had all but forgotten their historic ties to housing activism in the Oregon area. It was a disappointment to me. It was not the case that villagers were incapable or unwilling to express critical attitudes. They were all too critical, of one another, but to social justice they seemed completely disinterested. In

fact, they have been so busy fighting with themselves that they have let the community slide in important ways. They do not live up to the reporting or fiduciary requirements laid out in their contract with the city; they have an ineffective government; they transition people from the village, but usually back into homelessness and they have been in the grips of a drug epidemic for the last four years. These various problems, and there are others, give weight to critics of the village model, despite what we want to see, and contribute to what I call the crisis of community at Dignity Village, one that is characterized by a deep and enduring state of perpetual liminality. In the last year, the city of Portland has begun to pressure the village to perform according to the contract and other codes it signed in 2001, and which were ratified in the official agreement in 2007. News of the drug epidemic has reached the police, the city housing bureau and the press. The village wants now to know what it can do to empower itself. The answer seems quite simple: struggle, resist and make claims about the village's collective rights. But the potential for this to happen is complicated and constitutes the conundrum that undergirds my thesis.

1.3 A Thesis

My goal is to establish an ethnographic mode of social critique that I call pragmatic ethnography of critique (PEOC), which considers elements of macro and micro critical approaches in order to explain the potential for critical action produced in spaces defined by liminality. I argue that despite their obvious delight in critiquing one

another, villagers feel they have no need to engage in broader debates because they have until very recently been content to view the village as a self-contained world where they had a certain tenure. Furthermore, as a democratically structured corporation, the village forces people to align with others over matters of a political nature, so that their political horizon is extremely limited. As village citizens, they are so busy navigating the precariousness of their tenure in the village social structure that broader issues of social justice that used to guide the community as a whole, no longer exist for them. Based on the Foucauldian proposition that "critical discourses do not merely function as an ideological glaze on top of a fixated power differential, but rather they can function as the tactical instrument to enable a critical alternative to become a new form of power" (Larsen, 2011:43), a second goal of this dissertation is to consider what exactly happens to social critique when homeless communities win the right to legally occupy city space? Legal occupation suggests that whatever action was taken has been reformulated by authorities of the state into some entity that is rational within its own strategies of housing governance, and this makes me question what happens to justice-driven social critiques when the powers of state and claimants collide, and resistance, which happens on each side, is transformed into a compromise.

For Dignity Village Oregon, this has meant adopting codes and regulations on the spatial and social aspects of the village that are hard to live up to, and so the village is always on the verge of failure in the eyes of its critics. Rather than striving for its utopian vision, as an alternative participant democracy and sustainable community, the

regulatory pressure to live within the guidelines of a transitional housing camp, which was the compromise served to them by the city, questions just how alternative is the community, and how reachable are its goals. It has come to be a *between-world*, a marginalized space for people stuck between the streets and conventional lives. I ask the reader to consider that the rise of Dignity Village Oregon, has not been emancipating but constraining in important ways for those who have come to live there because democracy limits freedom to a certain way of achieving it that requires the domination of others, is not radical, not activist, and certainly not a threat to critics of the village. But the most threatening aspect of this liminality to the villager is its perpetual nature, a state of limbo they rarely transcend. In a small utterly poor world, roughly 2 acres in size and out on the outskirts of a major city, if this democracy fails, and the city shuts it down, then people will have no choice but to return to the streets. The stakes are higher here than most people imagine. The final point I want to argue is that the only way for the village to surpass its liminality and to become powerful in this debate, is to reclaim its active role in the social critique of housing and to fight for the land, resources and services that can make it a functioning community once more. Community ties with conventional and activist groups, as types of social relations, are the roots of power. PEOC contributes to the building of this power, and to villagers' critical capacity, by helping villagers bring diverse ways of seeing the village and the alternatives available to it into a strategy of empowerment.

1.4 Portland and Dignity Village – Conditions of Possibility

Recently and since the economic crisis of 2007-2008, what some homeless activists and critics describe as the Great Recession[7], leniency towards grassroots responses to homelessness like tent camps and shantytowns has been only slightly warmer, but warmer still, especially in Oregon, where there is a tradition of grassroots communitarian responses to poverty.[8] Oregon's longstanding resource economy and vast wild territories fostered a legendary hobo and migrant worker economy spanning much of the 19th and early 20th centuries; for labor, camping and travelling to seasonal work was common, and historically high and fluctuating unemployment rates have over time merged into a common value system or *symbolic imaginary*[9], a concept borrowed from Jacques Lacan ([1971] 2002), by Castoriadis (1987) and Wright (1997); a symbolically shared system of (urban) identities and attitudes towards the use of space that in this case, understands rough sleeping and impoverished shelter communities as part of Oregon lore.[10]

Portland, Oregon is a city of 598,000 people. As the largest urban centre in the state, it has borne the brunt of demands for social services in a period of economic recession and rising poverty rates not seen there since the early 1960's when Johnson's National War on Poverty was declared. In Oregon, since the last recession of 2008, 120,000 people crossed into poverty bringing the total to 596,000, slightly smaller than the population of Portland, and nearly double the population of Oregon's next two largest cities, Eugene and Salem. The US national poverty rate stands at an average of 14.3%,[11]

close to 47 million people. Oregon's poverty rate sits above the national average, at close to 15.8%. Those living in deep poverty, that is for example, a family of three, earning less than 8687.00 a year is almost 7.2 percent of Oregonians. Poverty is worse in Oregon, as it is in most places, if you are non-white. White, non-Hispanic poverty sits at about 13.1%, while for persons of colour, it skyrockets to 23.1% for Native Americans, 28.8 % for Latinos, and 39.0 % for Blacks. The number of children in poverty increased to 1 in 5 by 2010 or from 16.9% to 21.6% (Oregon Center for Public Policy, Fact Sheet 2011). With such a widespread distribution of poverty, it is not too hard to imagine that the problem of homelessness is difficult to define or to measure in static or uniform terms, in Oregon generally, and Portland, especially.[12]

Portland in particular has a strong grass roots environmental and communitarian tradition and has enjoyed a creative artistic urban imaginary that includes community based alternative cooperatives like *City Repair* and the *Village Building Convergence* that have been questioning the monopoly of urban space by the wealthy for over twenty years.[13] These groups periodically occupy abandoned lots and build communal gardens, take control of neighborhood streets, transforming them into parkettes and communal tea stations, and are champions of the emerging "tiny house movement."[14] Historically faced with high numbers of homeless residents, camping and squatting in the Portland area have not been uncommon. In June 2013, Dignity Village celebrated 12 years as an avatar of the emotional and protracted debate about the place of emergency intentional homeless camps in modern American cities. The debate over Dignity Village surges

every time the city announces proposals to extending the village's contract, or when the village is up for Fire Department and other city led inspections. Contract negotiations are lengthy and pit different internal factions and visions of the village against one another. As recently as August 12, 2013, a local and militant activist[15] in the Portland area has decided to expose the village's ongoing epidemic drug problems to the city and the press because she thinks it will make them "get on track." As I try to conclude this dissertation, I am receiving emails, phone calls and Facebook chats imploring me to advise various people associated with the village about how to deal with the scrutiny and critique the village is going to face as a result. This is something I deal with in my conclusions, but I think it is very important to recognize the kind of relationship this suggests exists between the villagers and me. This research is part of their struggle as much as an indictment of their village in many ways. It is also important because if the village closes, as they fear, 56 people are back on already congested and troubled streets where based on single night street counts, as many as 2000 people per night seek shelter (June 14 2013, Portland Mercury Newspaper).

Between 2010 and 2012, the period in which my fieldwork was done, the number of people identified by the Portland Housing Bureau's various street counts, as "literally homeless" increased by 7% or from 2,542 to 2, 727 or .45%. This number created by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) refers to people living unsheltered, or in hostels or vouchered in motels and, because it is difficult to measure, is likely far below the actual number of people who are literally on the streets, conceived of

herein as a collection of empty urban spaces, temporary shelters and impermanent housing that I discuss in the following chapters. At the time of this writing, the number is estimated to be as high as double that amount. By the broadest definition employed by other government agencies including the US Department of Education, the number increased from 14, 451 to 15, 563, figures that include people couch surfing or doubling up on housing due to economic hardship. This larger figure is more difficult to accept for those concerned with the general well being of people. It is a high number, about 2.62% and more than twice the national average of people without housing, although once again, such numbers are hard to pin down, and are presumed to be much higher. Still, Portland, a city with one of the highest per capita poverty rates in the US, and this long history of "seeing" homeless persons camped out, struggles with this ever-increasing presence.

A recent column in the Oregonian Newspaper, a popular news entity, which is often critical of the Village, stated that Portland is over run by homeless people not because local folks are losing their jobs, but because Portland has become a symbolic magnet for transient homeless people from across the state and the nation (Pindyck, E., September 1, 2012).[16] He states,

> It's not because of the temperate weather, or local demands for housing, but the problem it seems, has more to do with our collective attitudes than anything else (ibid).

Echoing the sentiments of some of Portland's conservative housed citizens, the columnist's position is that this permissive idealism exists as a mode of thinking that needs to be reconfigured in order to control and stem the rise in the population of Portland's homeless. From his position, the homeless belong in shelters, housing

programs and jails, and for them, it is acceptable if not inevitable to see worst-off cases on the streets, if only to roust them from bench to bench: the problem is attitudes, not numbers.

On the other extreme of opinion are activist websites like the *Portland Occupier*[17] and grassroots magazines like *Street Roots*[18] that fight for the rights of the poor and homeless. Their argument is that permissiveness is actually a kind of recognition of human rights and basic needs for the poor, and that communities and the state have a responsibility to help them. This imaginary questions the privy status of the wealthy in urban spaces. Furthermore, "guardians" of this permissiveness, argue that the homeless have the right to help themselves by occupying city space and building camps because the American Constitution grants them the right to shelter, and because the help they *deserve* is not forthcoming. This position echoes the popular position espoused in current state "Homeless Bill[s] of Rights" which seek to table and establish legislative sanctions in favor of the poor such as, repealing anti-loitering laws, outlawing discriminatory zoning and rental practices that exclude the homeless and their organizations and other practices that violate the rights of the poor.[19] These Bills of Rights currently exist as law only in Rhode Island and Connecticut, but are being explored in various states, including Oregon and California, as a means to ensuring the rights of the homeless to use city space and services. Even though such "Bills" have not proven completely successful yet, lawmakers are being asked to recognize that there is room within conventional urban imaginaries for the homeless.

I use the term "imaginaries" often, or variations of it, such as "urban imaginaries." Castoriadis (1987) and Wright (1997) each invoke a Marxian lens in crafting imaginaries in which the material value of space and of social behaviour in spaces, or one might say, lived experiences, varies widely between urban and other locations. Wright in particular demonstrates that current attitudes towards the use of urban space are the results of mediations over time between competing views on acceptable reality and spatial values under late neoliberal capitalism (1992, 1997, 2000). This is not to say that spatializations of poverty such as homeless camps are widely accepted as legitimate (that is, legally and politically acceptable) forms by members of conventional imaginaries, even in Oregon. It is more apt to suggest that they are understandable in the symbolic and imaginary concepts Oregonians use to organize their feelings and ideas about poverty, constitutional rights and community uses of space, because that use, this "permissiveness," has historical roots that people understand, even if they disagree with it on moral or other grounds.

This goes for homeless Oregonians as well. Since Dignity Village emerged, urban developers and others for whom city space is a matter of capital investment have increasingly questioned the validity of this use of space for housing the poor in non-profit organizations, of which Dignity Village is one example. It is a tension between these views on space - for profit as investment versus for people as a basic right - that provides a central critical dynamic to debates about intentional communities for the homeless. This is not simply a classic Marxian conflict between the rich and the poor,

where space is a commodity (Castells 1983; Harvey 2008). Most critics of the village would be delighted if it managed to live up to its mandate as a transitional community with a moral duty and legal mission to help wayward souls back into the fold. Villagers would be deserving of the space, that is, if they earned it, by doing something positive for society, instead of being lazy and doing drugs, which is the common perception of the village amongst conservative critics like the writer mentioned earlier.

Under neoliberalism, *deserving subjectivities* are very much interpreted in terms of economic before other roles.[20] Conservative imaginaries want the village to live up to its transitional promise and return homeless people to self-governed lifestyles. This has been a common criticism regardless of the city setting of the spaces set up for the homeless; shelters, transitional housing, rehabs, and other "workfare" projects. Hence Fairbanks Jr. (2004) has established the appeal of using Foucault's (1991) governmentality critique for understanding tolerance for spatializations of service for the poor. Governmentality, understood here as the range of techniques employed by government to produce self-regulating subjects, is a critical anchoring point for my research for many reasons, but at this juncture, I point out only that Foucault argued that suitable self-conduct, that is the government of one's self, was a basic requirement of neoliberal citizenship, as a certain expression of freedom. In Dignity's case, there are critics who reject it as a failure because its residents do not self-govern towards this collective experience of subjective freedom.

I will discuss a union between pragmatic, critical and reflexive ethnographic field methods as the core of the PEOC. Culling some useful ideas from Critical Theory, Critical Sociology and Critical Realism, I will show why choosing a single approach is difficult and unwise in looking at liminal spaces and experiences. I end up at a theoretical model that unites these elements in the gaps left open by pragmatic sociology of critique and Foucault's governmentality critique, before suggesting a spatial-temporal critical model open to diversity and permutation, because it seems to me after all, that successful social critiques have unpredictable and dynamic results and that they inhere qualities we often don't recognize by trying to slot them into narrow critical frames. Since the claim we are examining here emplaces ideas about freedom and democracy in a spatial argument - for land, I see some sense, here at least, to enter a sort of hybridized spatial critique. After looking at the historical conditions that afforded the critical displacement by Dignity activists, I conclude by examining what the village might look like if different critical positions get their ways, and how the process of doing this research has impacted the critical capacity of the village.

Currently, as of August 12, 2013, the city of Portland has issued an ultimatum to the village based on its failure to meet eleven points of its contract. The morale of the village is at an all time low and the leadership is seriously considering the number of days that the village might have left. As the village struggles to identify solutions to this crisis, this dissertation presents PEOC as means to help communities of struggle to

identify critical courses of action out of liminality and into more powerful places in the broader community.

1.5 Method and Periods of Study

My interest is interdisciplinary. In my research oriented, work, I use archival film and video footage, archival photographs and documents, video interviews, field notes, drawings, photography, email, chat rooms, blogs, web archives, and Skype interviews as ways of collecting and sharing ideas in the field and while away. My primary method is to watch the video I shot in the field, to listen to the recorded conversations I have had over the net or on the phone, and to transcribe parts of these and my many pages of field notes that speak to the issues I raise in this dissertation.

There were four periods stretched out over 12 years that contribute to this work. I began studying Dignity Village in 2001 when I was working on my film series *Subtext* (2003, 2005, 2008) about Toronto's shantytown, Tent City. At that time I was sent video recordings made by Kwamba Productions, an Oregon documentary team who were chronicling the rise of the village. Their video archives, our conversations and correspondences, and hearsay from nomadic homeless activists, who I met in Toronto, over the next seven years, provided me with my only knowledge of the village. By 2009, however, the village websites, numerous articles and media reports of the village had appeared and so I digested those. As I crafted various cuts of my own documentary about the changes in the lives of ex-residents of Tent City as they navigated housing,

Dignity Village became more remarkable as an enduring historical form of intentional housing. This period constitutes the first of four periods.

The second period was my two-week non-participant observation in June to July of 2010 when I visited Portland and the village as a way to understand what might be gained by embedding there in the following year for long-term participant observation. In that first visit I shot 20 hours of video, took notes and made vital connections with the village leadership. In the interim, I read the bulk of studies and literature that are reviewed in later chapters. I also made frequent calls and shared many emails with the leadership as a way to stay in touch and to understand the political climate before I reentered.

The third period was my 6 - week participant observation during June and July of 2011 during which time I lived in a small shack in the village. It was the first time any researcher of the village had done so. I had anticipated staying up to three months, but after five weeks, I felt the village was mentally and physically unsafe for me. I address this in due course, later. I shot over 70 hours of footage wrote many field notes and collected samples of writing and art produced by villagers. I did not use surveys, questionnaires or formal interviews of any kind. Villagers were leery of such practices. I did not form focus groups or reenact any acts or performances associated with life at the village. I did film everything I could, including daily routines, personal unstructured interviews, business and membership meetings, excursions to other activist meetings and the Portland area. I was asked to contribute to the village as part of my sweat equity

requirement and in addition to paying for a few needed village resources such as propane, I was asked to help with contracts, political strategies and filming testimonies that might be used as a village promotional video (the video was not produced[21]). In addition to the villagers, I filmed the participation of many supporters and did interviews with them. I collected samples of the documents that encode the village including the contract, mission statement and other plans and regulations that are meaningful to villagers. They are included in part in this text. At every opportunity we discussed the nature of living in the village, reviewed footage together and worked closely together when (Nigel Dickson came down to take photos of the village for our collaborative book, *Dignity in Exile – Stories of Struggle and Hope from a Modern American Shantytown* (2012). In that book, I discuss the basic themes that I was imagining en route to this dissertation, and present transcriptions of filmed conversations and interactions I had with villagers. Some of those appear in an abridged form in this dissertation, as do some of Nigel's photos. Nigel's photos of the people and the place offer a character driven image record of the village, just as my approach to the book, and to my fieldwork is sometimes described as *Conversational ethnography* (go to - http://tinyurl.com/BooktrailerEricWeissman).

I want to make a clarification here, an important one. Mosher (Kwamba) identifies her work in the village as a community psychology informed public ethnography (Dissertation Support DV 1: Kwamba: intro Henceforth: DS DISC 1, part 1). According to Gans (2010),

> Since ethnography is arguably the kind of sociology of most appeal to the lay public, public ethnography, particularly participant observation research, should be a major form

of public sociology. Public ethnography differs from academic ethnography when its sites and subjects are relevant to what the lay public wants and needs to know, and when it is written in non technical English."

Public ethnographies use various combinations of art, film, digital media, visual and audioscapes; in short whatever works to capture the diversity of unique, but always, field oriented experience. I try to make my work open to a variety of disciplines and accessible to most readers. The debate between public ethnography/anthropology and applied schools of anthropology/sociology seems to hinge on the former being more open to other disciplines and to a broader public audience. Both these applied and public forms try to link study with practice aiming to resolve concrete and practical issues that have implications for persons, and the public as a concern for just social change (McGranahan 2006; Borofsky 2004[22]).

In applied anthropology, the specialization of the anthropologist tints the lens by which their public oriented work is discussed. A debate of the two forms would be a thesis in itself. I mention it here because I have been asked to define my work by many scholars, students and other readers of my work or audiences of my films. While I recognize the discomfort ambiguity suggests, I have a hard time explaining to them what being a social scientist means. It's "kind of the MacGyver" of the academic world, someone once said. I wrote *Dignity in Exile* with a broader readership in mind, but the manner in which data and the conversations were arrived at is the same for this dissertation. Both use the same video as a record of the fieldwork, and in support, so throughout this dissertation, there are various web links that take the reader to YouTube

videos that show the things to which I speak. Still, *Dignity in Exile*, with its simpler language, emphasis on stories and storytelling and photography, its broader appeal to non-academic audiences, and its critique of housing policies, if one accepts a public ethnographic or anthropological form, is *that kind of ethnography*.

In this dissertation, I interrogate the deep structure of ideas, philosophies, critique and methods as well as the world I was studying and informing in much greater detail. Borofsky (2007) has said that public anthropology not only preaches holism, it seeks to understand how anthropology can be made more holistic. Furthermore he says anthropologists need to transcend their specialties, speak to broader and cooperative attachments with other disciplines, and that the truth lies in what people say. To me, this seems like another reconstruction of post-structural anti-foundationalism, which is a *good* thing, a sort of social scientism *au courant*, but not unlike the model you will read in chapter three, and which I call pragmatic ethnography of critique. That is not to say that the ideals he and other public anthropologists express are not valid; solving social justice problems though the informed lens of the actor herself is a good thing, but I am lost quite frankly, in how an anthropologist does that differently than any concerned social scientist whose interest is social justice, and who uses participant observation or fieldwork. It's what I am trying to do here. He finally argues that a definition of public anthropology will be vague, and the goal is to foster conversation about what it might ideally mean. I am presenting PEOC as part of this larger conversation. Though the field has opened up considerably in the last decade, I am not going to get caught up in trying

to slot my work in that or other categories. My hope is to open our disciplines to see diversity rather than simplicity, and to that end I imagine there will be overlaps with most disciplines. Chapter three identifies my work with critical and reflexive modes of fieldwork, and ethnography, video and ethical storytelling, and I will leave the debate over what *kind* they might be to others.

This is an interdisciplinary approach that bridges oral history with (at least) participant observation, ethnographic film and video, cultural geography, communications, media studies, anthropology, sociology and social theory. As a pragmatic approach, PEOC is a highly subjective mode of inquiry, which elaborates on the way villagers understand their history, current circumstances and views about the future. This is also a very personal form of ethnography - our conversations are frank, and not always easy, and I do not hide my personal ethical commitment to some of the participants or their issues. The way I transcribe and re-present field moments is strongly linked to the oral history tradition. Steven High has written,

> We therefore try to see the past through the eyes of someone else – coming to an understanding of "their truths." This development represents a fundamental shift in perspective. Instead of mining for data, oral historians now approach the interview as a life story narrative. We have learned that there can be a great deal of meaning in the form and structure of oral narratives, as well as in the information provided (March 2011, accessed online August 4, 2013).

I don't mine the stories or code them looking for patterns of semantic or rhetorical structures, so my observations and analysis are in a way, yet another story being told on top others. The main source data for this storytelling are the 90 or so hours of audio and video recordings, those photos, and field notes that I made during my fieldwork, and

these other "official" visualizations of the rational systems of the village. Analyzed together, they provide a good sense of how the irrational and the rational compete in the messy context of a liminal space. This is not a neatly packaged dissertation. As I said, it is interdisciplinary and this takes on a somewhat organic form in the way I write about the village. This research raises more questions than it answers and nudges students of homeless camps to look at their own critical attitudes as much as those they study.

The fourth part of this research has been the dozens of hours of phone and video conferencing between the villagers and me. Sometimes these were one-on-one private conversations, and other times, group calls. The material collected in this virtual participant observation was preserved on digital audio recordings. During this period I sent a camera and tapes to the village and asked villagers to film what they thought would be important (e.g. www.youtube.com/watch?v=tRrUJdmnJZw). This period was an important part of the ethnographic process because after writing *Dignity in Exile…* I repatriated several copies to the village hoping for commentary. I received numerous responses and the book had the effect of shifting some of the villagers' self-perceptions, which they felt needed to be included in this dissertation. Furthermore, partly because of the stir caused by the book (and especially the moving photos taken by Nigel Dickson) and spurred by a series of subsequent city-village contract negotiations, the village has used me as a resource and an advisor and these interactions have been recorded as well.

In ways, these last two years since the fieldwork have been more pivotal for the village and the conversations we have had more telling for my research than the time I

spent *in situ*. I have reimagined my entire project to accommodate the pragmatic dimensions of the ethnography as a result of these later interactions. As of this writing, the village and its supporters, including me as an advisor, are engaged in a process of deep and troubling critical examination that confronts the question of how to heal the community en masse of its addictions. This healing is required because the village will be entering yet another series of contract negotiations where this collective health problem is expected to be used as a means to end the village experiment. As much as I wanted to step out of the role of a participant and write this work from a position of detachment and reflection, events that tie my work to the village's ongoing process of critique prevent this exteriority.

1.6 Structure of the Dissertation

In chapter two, I introduce the concepts and arguments that undergird this research and I flesh out my argument in more detail. I discuss the classic confrontation between capital and the homeless as a question of the willingness of Portland's city leadership to listen to the people on the streets, or to the business districts that are threatened by them. Then I use a conversation I had with one of the ex-founders of the village to discuss the implications of self-run democratic governance in a place where people don't know how to govern. Democracy sounds like a noble organizing principle but in the village's case, it has led to powerful factions and a complete incapacity to administer village affairs. I also look at how the type of emancipation sought by the

critical action that led to the village was based on a less radical critique than other activists at the time had wanted, and so the village from the very beginning has represented a co-option or compromise of the social critique that spurred it on. I discuss liminality in more detail. I also suggest that critique need to be understood for its temporal qualities as it shifts and morphs over time. In a sense then, when we talk of critique we are also looking at the liminal or transitional experience of subjects becoming political. In this light, the stagnation of the village right now might only mean that critique is stalled, and if this is so, the village might have another chance, if the people can become politically motivated. I make the suggestion that the mundane critiques that occur between villagers are in part anticipated by the city as an indirect form of creating this liminal space, one which is more easily controlled than a thriving activist community. That means that the city understood how difficult it would be just to survive under the conditions they gave the community, and as some of the discussions you will read suggest, the city is just sitting back and waiting for the village to fail. So I suggest a PEOC as a means to understanding what the villagers want from their community experience and establishing means to achieving such ends.

In chapter three, I examine how reflexive and critical forms of ethnography unite with pragmatism in a PEOC. I theorize ethnographic fieldwork as an act in the Bakhtinian sense, and also as a type of critique. By correlating the critical and ethnographic elements of my work with a certain pragmatic vision, I suggest ways that video extends the ethnographic present in temporal and experiential ways and as part of

the process of doing analysis with participants. As much as we are looking to understand how critical attitudes happen in the village, we are also exploring how this research has been part of the creation of those attitudes. While Dignity Village is the primary site, my research today is attached to 12 years spent doing research on the streets of Toronto, two of those at the failed shantytown, Tent City. I find it impossible to separate that fieldwork, and my prior battle with addictions and homelessness from this current enterprise. It was those two events that led to my critical position towards intentional homeless communities and my interests in ethnographic storytelling.

In keeping with the reflexive and autoethnographic elements of my model, in chapter four, I discuss how my early fieldwork on the streets of Toronto and relevant literature has informed my current research questions and my understanding of critical spatializations by homeless people. I discuss the currently debated idea of the ethnographer as a resource in his own work. And I then give a fairly detailed and personal account of how my own struggle with addictions in a rehab and homelessness have shaped the moral call and weight of this research, and also how my experience afforded me particular insights into this community. I offer up a fairly tight and detailed account of how my early documentary studies, experience at Tent City between 2000-2002 and events going on in the field of housing between 2002 until now, led me to ask certain questions. I look at issues of misrepresentation and how the ethical and moral position I now take is related to the failures of others in the past to meet these demands. I understand the village as a complex place where various critical approaches to solving

homelessness find expression and rejection. I discuss how my first encounter with community organizers led me to try and understand locality-based ethnography as a type of ethnographic community organizing.

A review of early literature and observations from my fieldwork show that power emerges as a central concept in understanding the claims made by homeless people, and in the claims made by the activist founders of Dignity Village especially. I reject the idea of a powerless easily dominated homeless identity, and I offer up a method for illuminating how power manifests for those who are without home. In trying to overcome the blandness of community studies, the hopelessness of culture of poverty legacies and the unbalanced storytelling by radical and conservative movements, I suggest uniting these positions historically in a frame that unites them with shifts in attitudes about deserving and undeserving poverty. Importantly, I discuss Isin and Nielsen's *Acts of Citizenship* (2008) and raise questions about structure and agency that force me to interrogate the limits of various critical approaches, especially Foucault's critique of governmentality in the next chapters.

In chapter five, I first address Latour's (2004) critique of critique. I explain how the PEOC is a way of making critique relevant again. Then I offer a very quick discussion of the philosophical roots of critique in critical dogmatism, transcendental critique and deconstructionism, offering simple examples of how homeless camps and people might be framed in these lenses. Ultimately I see PEOC as oriented towards a deconstructionist mode, but I also understand that participants in this work often employ

dogmatic and transcendent forms of critique in everyday matters that really get in the way of community building. I then discuss five main branches of sociological critique that impact my work and help PEOC understand the perspectives of villagers. Critical Theory (Frankfurt School), Critical Sociology (Bourdieu) and Critical Realism (CR) (Bhaskar/Archer) are one group; Genealogical Critique (Foucault) and Pragmatic Sociology of Critique (Boltanski et al), another. Understood as a classic confrontation between structure and agency, critical approaches tend to be distinguished by where the power to be critical originates. In the first group, critique attaches truths generated by or about an objective reality in order to motivate and empower critical actors. In the latter, power is truth, and the actor is inherently more in charge of her critical capacity. I find them all informative for understanding the ambiguous and therefore undetermined critical potential of liminal spaces, but suggest uniting elements of Foucault and Boltanski in my own measure of a liminal space-world, based on what the villagers say and do. A liminal *between-world* in this sense is for lack of a better word, a fairly self-contained intentional and transitional community that sits between conventional and marginalized modes of living but rarely transits actors into desirable conventional statuses. Make no mistake, homelessness is a conventional status, just not the one we would hope for people, and certainly one that in great numbers, threatens the possibility of a conventional world. I am not trying to prove the existence of between-worlds, but I am suggesting that the Dignity Villager wrapped up in liminality comes to understand their life in an increasingly more narrow frame, that gives that space, the meaning of a

wholeness that constitutes a type of world that is forever suspended between the way they want to experience the world, and the unlikelihood of that occurring.

In chapter six, I offer a fairly rigorous historical account of laws, policies and conventional attitudes about deserving and undeserving poor since the first US colonies. This chapter shows how attitudes towards deserving and undeserving poor shift concomitantly with massive shifts in the economy and social structure. I reveal this debate over deserving and undeserving poor as it has been constructed on a legacy of laws and attitudes that use freedom and autonomy to underscore proper modes of living at different times in history. Under neoliberal regimes, urban symbolic imaginaries judge poor individuals as deserving or undeserving on these terms as part of the rationalization of devolution. In this case, the poor have always been represented by a normative boundary between deserving poor who might be old or disabled, and those undeserving, cut off from state and community support because of idleness or personal defects of character, such as addiction. Out-casting the undeserving to the streets and to shelters has opened up a sanctioned and profitable housing and supports industry for the homeless. Leginski (2007), Caton (1990) and others offer periodizations of homelessness and policy that are not completely infallible but which do provide good general guides for understanding how periods of massive liminality, understood as unfulfilled transitional life experiences, have impacted laws and attitudes towards homeless spatializations like tent camps and shantytowns.

Using Dean's (2010) *analytics of government* as a means to rejoin the critique of governmentality, I show how the codification of the village in contracts, assessments, by-laws, articles of incorporation and other "forms" has set the measuring stick for the village and is an attempt by power to stem the tactical displacement that the original claim represented. Where pragmatic sociology of critique had showed that governance has the ability to incorporate critique into its management strategies, these forms and contracts establish the city's sovereignty rather than reflecting the realistic capacity of the villagers to govern. Because of how rules and codes of conduct delineate the acceptable action of villagers, and how codes and laws govern the use of the space, I re-engage the question, "what happens when critique displaces power?" and speak briefly to the limits of governmentality in an actual research setting. While the rules and regulations of the community suggest a stable and well-organized community, the reality is very different. PEOC helps to explain the space opened up by the divergence between intended and actual conduct, and the seemingly endless experimentation with critical attitudes in liminal spaces. I often have wanted to think of the chaos I witnessed at the village as an *attempt* or an *expression* of intentional resistance, but in the end I can't argue that it is so.

In chapter seven, I try to gather the many approaches and concepts we have read into a neater bundle. By way of a summation, I ask, "What does the history we just read tell us about the critical capacity of the village?" I re-enter the discussion of the right of the city and the classic opposition of capital and other users of space, because over history, the liminality of the displaced has been managed by the state in terms of its deference to

capital and the economy. Tolerance and deserving are terms based on essentially economic terms. At least that's what chapter six shows us. I talk briefly about Lefebvre and his ideas about socially created space. In some ways what we read confirms his observations. He too struggles with the idea of liminal or ambiguous space, and so I use a few examples from my fieldwork to give a qualitative taste of what that space feels like. I recharge this chapter with Soja's (1996) notion of "Thirdspace" in order to establish the limits of Lefebvre's socially constructed space, Turner's (1967), communitas, and Foucault's (1984) heterotopias and the usefulness of identifying a new kind of liminal space, open to the challenge of creating collective action out of seemingly endless amounts of conflict and diversity. I argue for the diversity that spaces present, and for critique to find ways for uniting diverse experiences of the same place into a critical framework for solving the crisis of community. The historical conditions that made Dignity possible also made a certain kind of concentrated liminality the norm there. Looking at the village as a liminal world then, means that many different possibilities exist because liminality in itself can go in many directions depending on where actors take it. They are vulnerable to organized external critiques and this must be addressed if they are to fight for the community. So I ask actors in my conclusions where and how to take it.

In my concluding chapter 8, I introduce transcripts of recent conversations I have had during the last two years when two significant regime changes led to shifts in the critical capacity of the village. While the village had real opportunities to become active

and powerful in Oregon's housing activist movement, the village failed to do so because of the age-old problem of factional impotence. While the village entered a renewed phase of decline and low morale, other sites have become empowered through critical displacements. Their ties to Dignity Village suggest that they are in fact, the crests of the wave that Dignity started back in 2001 and that it does take time to understand the implications of successful social critique.

Endnotes - Introduction: Pages 1 – 33.

[1] As discussed on *Bill Maher*, HBO, February 22 2013.

[2] Based on various statistics from, HUD 2012; State of Oregon, EHAC 2011; NAEH 2011. The difficulty being that the use of such numbers is almost a dysphemism when one understands the larger number 146 million, is almost half the country, meaning that a huge number of Americans are within a paycheck or two of homelessness.

[3] See Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City* (2003) Jim Ward, *The Street is their Home, the hobo's manifesto* (1979), David Wagner, *Checkerboard Square* (1993).

[4] The documentary. *Hard Times, Lost on Long Island* (2011) suggests that over 5,000,000 personal bankruptcies and 8,000,000 home foreclosures took place in the 2.5 years since the 2008 bust and the making of the film. The majority of these were middle class employed persons who had lost one or both sources of employment.

[5] Eugene Oregon is using that language when constructing the terms of Opportunity Village. In so much as Leginski (2007) defines the housing services sector in the US as de facto sector, composed of many indirectly linked parts, there is reason to argue that sanctioned tent camps are of this de facto system.

[6] In recent years, the topic of liminality as critique is gaining more interest in anthropology and beyond. Boland (2013a and 2013b) manages a deep and critical analysis of crises driven liminality and the critique it produces as a sort of permanent liminality for modernity, which he gets to, by a reading of Szakolczai (2000). In future, I imagine linking his discussion of ritual and process into my imagining of liminal space.

[7] See Wikipedia, Marketplace.org and many more.

[8] These are explored in detail in chapter four and six.

[9] Lacan had argued that ideas have both symbolic and imaginary dimensions to the degree that popular illusions through speech acts become fixed in symbolic imaginaries; in this autonomous realm where the ego comes to understand itself as a reflection (the mirror stage) of the Imaginary order; such popularized ideas appeal to the narcissistic and autonomous needs of the individual to comprehend reality (Lacan 1955: Seminar Three: The Psychoses – also 197, *Ecrits*.). Castoriadis (1987) builds a model of larger scale "symbolic imaginaries" upon this foundation, arguing that under capitalism, simple or magico-religious foundations of common belief are replaced by ever increasing scientific and managerial, even moral symbolic representations of acceptable social and political order often contained in laws and expectations for normal economic behavior. Boltanski and Thévenot's *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (1999) explores similar themes. As such, urban symbolic imaginaries under neoliberal capitalism tend to replicate visions of themselves through various cultural practices, organizational principles and ideas about public and private domains, uses of urban space and so some scholars such as Wright, (1993; 2000) make important connections between attitudes towards deserving and undeserving poor, the spaces in which they are tolerated, and the proper conduct of the well off vis a vis the poor in terms of the imaginary moral foundations of capitalist societies and cities.

[10] http://www.ohs.org/education/oregonhistory/

[11] These figures oscillate monthly if not yearly. CNN recently announced a national rate of 15.7% while another news source stated 14.1%. The figures I offer are from nationally recognized sources, HUD, NAEH, NCH and others.

[12] The reader is cautioned that the figures presented in this section are impossible to verify and differed pending on the sources cited. I have chosen my figures from three sources: the EHAC Ten-Year Plan yearly reports for 2009 and 2010, The Portland Ten Year Plan report, for 2010, and US Census Bureau or HUD sources. The implication of this is that the economy or other structural factors are shedding people into homelessness much faster than the state can produce Housing First.
Also go to http://www.oregon.gov/ohcs/isd/ra/docs/2010_oregon_poverty_report.pdf for some good figures.

[13] http://vbc.cityrepair.org -- City Repair and its festive Village Building Convergence, won early battles with city government resulting in ordinances for alternative communal spaces in the city. Discussed in chapter six.

[14] http://newswatch.nationalgeographic.com/2012/12/10/tiny-house-happy-life/

[15] Mary Jo Pullen-Hughes: http://voiceofrussia.com/2013_03_25/The-US-Government-sent-an-assassin-for- me-interview-333/

[16] http://www.oregonlive.com/opinion/index.ssf/2012/09/index_3.html

[17] http://www.portlandoccupier.org/?s=dignity+village

[18] http://streetroots.org

[19] Connecticut and Rhode Island are the first two states to pass such laws, but Oregon and California are currently very close to signing theirs.

[20] See Burchell (1991), Gordon, (1991), in chapter five notes.

[21] For precisely the same reasons that Mosher had had problems and are discussed in my chapter on ethnography: essentially an unwillingness amongst villagers to say anything that might be taking the wrong way by the public, or to publicize their demise. They were not proud of being there.

Chapter Two: Concepts, Contradictions and Controversies

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I accomplish many things. First I discuss in detail how the contest of over space pitches business and the homeless against one another, and is oddly enough, empowering for both despite the tendency for business to win most of the time. The contest has asked urban imaginaries to consider different uses for city space. I introduce Soja's (1996) Thirdspace as an example of this diversified take on space and experience. Then I introduce community studies not just because of the way they emplace experience, but also because villagers refer to the village as a community, and one villager, Dave Samson, even suggests that community is the essence of dignity and self-worth. Another villager says that their community hinges on the structure it gives to people, so I address structure and agency as mutually constitutive aspects of community building. The village relies on its reputation as a democratically self-run community. I look at the important testimony of one of the village founders as evidence of the inherent conflicts that De Tocqueville ([1841] 1961) and Derrida (2005) attribute to the contradictory logics of freedom and democracy. The village's current crisis of community is very much the result of a tendency towards Michel's (1915) oligarchy, which I discuss briefly. Because I am constantly looking to know how villagers perceive their world, rather than merely just observing, I then introduce pragmatism as an organizing influence in my research. Beyond this address to ideas, I also discuss the need to look at historical records as a way to discern critical flows over time, and to texts, codes and contracts as evidence of how the powers that govern, would govern. These codes and contracts, the very idea of democracy; all these notions – they don't work so well, in a group of

homeless folks. So I present the crisis of community as a form of endemic liminality. This does not have to be fatal. If one recognizes how critique has a temporal quality, then it is possible to intervene in the direction(s) it takes.

2.2 Portland's Conflict Over Urban Space – Contestation is Power

The cleansing of urban cores has been happening for decades, with conventional urban planners and housing providers confounded by the pervasiveness of abject homelessness on city streets. The battle has been especially difficult in cities where Business Improvement Districts (BIDS) have been implanted as a means of organizing capital against the street homeless (WRAP 2008). Polarization over the spatial rights of the homeless increasingly is defined by the objections of capital though BIDS, and the claims of activists, communitarian movements, and non-profits in the name of their homeless members. While the presence of wealthy, powerful BIDS suggests a classic Marxian conflict between capital and the exploited classes, the fact that some of these intentional camps have been recognized by the state as legitimate, if not temporary responses, suggests that one must abandon strict conflict based perspectives in order to understand how homeless activism gives power to the very poor in order to politically defeat capital.

In Portland, BIDS, Economic Improvement Districts (EID) and since 2010, Ecodistricts, tend to spearhead the debate over how to develop the city core and improve its standing as a vibrant and sustainable community.[1] While debates at city council are over how to make the city richer and better to live in, homeless people continue to queue

for shelter beds and food, or sneak into the night to sleep in laneways and abandoned lots. Housing activists contest the use of this privy city space too.

It is absolutely required to deal with the concept of space in my research. I spend considerable time doing this in chapters five, six and seven. Space is literally the substance that the Dignity claim was after. They wanted an address and a certain amount of space to house people. The ensuing compromises over the claim came to be centered on how much land, how many buildings, how close or how far they should be, how far from the center of town would the village be, maximum occupation laws and so on, all measures of what Soja (1996) referred to as "firstspace." Such firstspace is the physical vector of space, that which is counted, measured and commoditized. "Secondspace," is the mental vector of space; what we imagine to go on in certain spaces. Soja argues that the classic antagonism between space and time in social theorizing, and other sciences has to do with the traditional bicameralism of space into these two vectors. In his model of *Thirdspace*, Soja unites Lefebvre's (1974) representational space (that part of social space where ideas and critique abound), with Foucault's (1984) heterotopias (temporary sites of counter conduct or resistance), with the notion of abstract space (or physical) and then tears it wide open to any number of ways to be interpreted; emotional, historical, light, dark, safe, tangible, imaginative, and so on, in order to recognize the diverse critiques that space represents rather than a simple binary construction.

I will discuss this in much greater detail, in chapter seven, because perceptions of the village as a space of different values are very much what I am interested in understanding. When I tell people it is a democratic member run village, they look at the photos of the poverty and the broken things, and wonder how that would be possible. Democracy

doesn't look like that or operate in space that way, does it? Thirding opens up the village to diversity as a means to understanding critical capacity. And it seems to me that a diverse range of perceptions is a completely normal state of affairs regarding the village. A range, and a fluid or temporally shifting nature to these perceptions is what we find. The idea of community is important to villagers but not restricted to a singularity.

Fig. 2. The Village Main Gate. June 2011. (E. Weissman).

2.3 Who Deserves Community?

Community studies engage what Casey (1996) had argued was the key factor in ethnographic research finding its relevance since the upheavals associated with the critical turn of the 1980's.[2] Framing such writing as it happened as part of the community dynamic, that is emplacing ethnography as part of the community it discusses, helps to reveal how knowledge is constructed in real situations. For Casey, *place* after all denotes a setting, a context and a sense of lived experience and is the basic component of ethnographic understanding.[3] My understanding of place is as a way of uniting human action and lived performances in temporal and spatial terms. Casey says, "Places are not

added to sensations any more than they are imposed on spaces. Both sensations and spaces are themselves emplaced from the very first moment, and at every subsequent moment as well" (1996:19). I discuss alternative views of spatial concepts shortly.

One of the important insights gained from community ethnographies has been to recognize that local communities can no longer be understood outside of or free from power relations and struggles with other communities or levels of government (Brunt 2004:84). Dignity Village created its own space within an extant regime of powerful governance of poverty through critical action and protest, and invited encapsulation rather than being encapsulated by an encroaching powerful regime.[4] Dignity Village asserted itself into a pre-existing political, economic, social and moral context by framing its claim as a democratic and constitutional right, agreeing to specific terms of encapsulation, as a transitional housing camp, in a lease with the city. In this sense, we are still talking about a community, but the encapsulating power dynamic is best understood as tactical agreement between the state and the protesters, where the spatialization was conditioned by the encoding of the activist community's function as an alternative path to reproducing self-governing individuals; it won the right to be an alternative part of a strategy for containing homeless people on the grounds that they would be self governing according to the law as expressed in a formal agreement and later, in a contract with the city. The prerequisite codes of construction of the village reflects the extension of control by the city over the space and people who reside there, while placing the village on the outskirts of town in 2002 was a sort of statement that in terms of the city symbolic imaginary, this spatialization had no proper place, except as

far away as possible.[5] They wanted the village to be unclear and to reside outside of the common debates on poverty; to symbolize as little as possible.

In so much as the village's claim to land was presented to city governance as a self-governed space where homeless people could work on recovering their lives, and then transition back into mainstream communities, Dignity, similarly to drug rehabs, treatment programs and other self-help programs for the poor appeals to but is not limited to critiques of governmentality (Foucault 1991; Tsemberis 1992; Mitchell 2003). Foucault (2007) had argued that being critical is an inherent feature of self-governance, in the sense, that conduct of conduct, or governing one's self, requires citizens to make choices and is at a basic level a critical activity. Social critique then resides in the deliberations made by people who are said to share a capacity to self-govern. Foucault was not interested in power per se. Foucault's main intent was to elaborate how subjects were created by the way power had manifest in ideas, "social languages and epistemes" over time and across cultures (Bevir 1999:65). In his later work, we saw that he more clearly discusses how power creates certain types of subjects as a matter of population management within spatial territories and so as Bevir reminds us, we must look at the individual as "an effect of power" (ibid: 63; Foucault 1977: 98).[6]

One might assume that size of the community expresses a certain structural complexity, of which the village might be a simpler type. This idea we know from Van Gennep[7] and Turner, suggests that "simpler" societies present less complicated critiques of identity by more effectively moderating and regulating rites of passage, which are ways of establishing identity.[8] And so, it has been common in my field experience of Toronto's Tent City and Dignity Village, to hear villagers referred to as "them" or

"villagers" as if they represent an essentially homogeneous and undifferentiated critical identity. In small communities like the village, where people with similar histories and experiencing a similar common problem: poverty and homelessness, and who willingly participate in a local government, it might seem logical to assume that at some level the effect of power has been to produce a similar subjectivity amongst them, and also then, potentially similar critical actors.

So, how does one reconcile the divergent critical actions of residents at Dignity Village given that they are subjects of the same shifting political and social structures within and outside of the village? That is; if they are subject to the same art of government, how does a truly activist moment come to be? If governmentality is everywhere under neoliberal governance as Foucault might argue, how are these diverse and often disintegrating village identities to be reconciled? In this light, the sustained critical action of the few remaining Dignity housing activists who go out and protest, who occupy land and are sometimes prosecuted, but who at the same time are cast to the margins of the village as "shit disturbers," set upon by factions and often blamed for creating negative "press," must be understood in relation to how shifts in the critique of housing policy by neoliberal regimes produce shifting expectations and self-knowledge over a range of villager-types. There is a basic analytical tension between governmentality that suggests governing takes precedence over inspiration, and other positions like Latour's practical metaphysics (2005) that suggest looking at the world from the actor outward. The point behind the PEOC is that these and many other positions are relevant, depending on what we are interested in knowing, or what changes we are interested in bringing about. The key is to locate the nature of the critique that

villagers as the key actors express, and then to see how they make sense in these other frames. What does the actual critique say about critique?

A number of such scripts exist because to some, the village is a permanent residence; to others a temporary space en route to housing or back into homelessness; to activist members, it is a secret place in which to plan protests and experiment with social economy; for others including me when I was there, the place was ambiguous and uncertain. Critics of the village cling to this latter position, and therefore the village comes to be feared and rejected. These observations suggest to me that experience is often understood in terms of mental and physical dimensions - that they are often understood as distinct from one another. If Firstspace is the physical and built urban environment and Secondspace, the expectations we hold of those structures, then the continuum of debate I have mentioned is largely to be understood in terms of disagreements about how the latter should be carried out in the former. Understood as a "Firstspace-Secondspace bicameral confinement" (Soja 1996:3; Anderson 2002:301), such a perspective restricts critique to one or the other category of experience, or argues for the normalcy of certain experiences in certain spaces, and misses the myriad ways time and space are imbricated and experienced by actors. The notion of community transcends this bicameralism, but is ambiguous, and so one might want to know what members of a community understand it to be.

On my first day in the village in June of 2010, Brad Powell, then CEO took me on a tour. He shared,

> I've only been here for a little over three years. I was homeless, camping out on the [Columbia] river a little ways, on one of the sloughs, and one day, the city came in with one of their crews from the jail and took our whole camp… took everything, straightened the blades of grass out… I had nothing except for the backpack on my

back… I had gone to a day-labor place to work and when I went home there was nothing there, and I had a friend who had lived out here and he told me about it. And I shared the same social stigma [towards it] about a 'dirty bum camp'. And when I got here I was amazed.

Fig. 3. John Boy Hawkes and Brad Powell, June 2010. (E. Weissman).

For Brad, the amazement refers to a psychic shift resulting from actual experience of the village. Very few people in Portland had even heard about the village. In the days before I entered I had toured around and talked to shop owners and tourists and if they had heard of Dignity Village, it was a long time ago in a news story. Few people had any idea it was still there. Brad was very insistent that daily routines and social structure were important (not to be confused with structure or structures, the terms they also use to refer to their shacks).

"It saved me. Saved him too," Brad said.
"What exactly?" I asked.
"Structure. Order, I mean rules, not being afraid of rules. I mean we make the rules here so it's better for us here than out there."

While villagers believe they make the rules there, that is simply a misunderstanding resulting from an unsophisticated understanding of how rules are made.

I show repeatedly that they confuse choosing from a range of city-sanctioned codes of conduct, with *making* rules. Still villagers tend to understand their community space as separated from the outside by the gate and the fence and they also experience this sense as a type of isolation – watching cars go by, planes lifting off and buses for which they don't have the fare. A city-bus stops in front of the village to service the prison next door, but rarely can villagers afford the bus. People en route to visit convicts pass by the village and cannot make sense of the camp. Two people whom I had met in a parking lot referred to them as Hobos and it, as a Hobo camp. If one reads Anderson (1923, 1975) or DePastino (2003), one will understand that this comprehension is testimony to the mental aspect of space that shapes how we think about space, regardless of its other possibilities. None of the Dignity Villagers were Hobos in the classic senses described above (and in detail in chapter 6) a few had ridden trains, one in particular, Rocky had spent time as a teenager with men calling themselves Hobos in a camp outside of Peoria. Regardless, ideas of space are very much a matter of perception not matched with lived reality.

This excerpt from *Dignity in Exile* is important for the kinds of complex ethnographic moments I am trying to relate to readers. At the same time Brad is speaking about mundane and practical information about the place, information of an entirely different range emerges. Observing the "objective" or material with these emotional points of contact with life history illustrates how closely together these two realms of experience ride, and the equal weight of their agency.

Brad and I walked the village a bit and he showed me his structure. But we did not go in because he motioned to a brightly painted structure in the far corner. One of many to have murals on them. Some are painted by residents, and others by local artists. On this one house, however, there was an unusual mural – a royal blue basecoat,

impressionistically painted animals two by two, and an ark. Brad stopped dead in his tracks. He looked around. His eyes teared up. I sensed he was on the verge of an emotional outburst and that he was trying to suppress something he might have needed to get out. I had to "out" myself. "Look, Brad, just so you know, and it's not a big secret, but I do this kind of work because, well, you know, I was pretty fucked up for a good chunk of my life." He hung his head and nodded. "So I get this. I get some of the stuff I mean. I was pretty much homeless at the end, sleeping in a coma pretty much. All the time. When I went to rehab…"

Brad pointed to my camera. Then he nodded to me with a faint smile. His lip was trembling. I wondered if I should turn the camera on. But he insisted, flogging his hand at me, encouragingly, so I did. This structure, or rather the painting of the arc on it, held special value to him. As I was to find out, all the paintings have special meaning to the folks who live in their structures. Without missing a stroke, he went on. "And I have post-traumatic stress syndrome, from being homeless, well, just from life. And I have a hard time talking about 'Noah's Ark'… because it's a kid's…"

I put an arm around his shoulder and tried to comfort him. So many times in my work with the guys from Tent City or other street folks, moments like this had arisen where interview became confessional, and all my training as an anthropologist and all my sociological imagination were completely useless, and all that was left was a moment defined by its existence. I had to just be a person, no role but be present and decent to someone I hardly knew, who was opening up to me. Moments like this confirmed for me that the only ethical moment was the one that arises from the interpenetration of two unique souls in the event of being. There is no such thing as universal pain. For each person, pain manifests uniquely.

As a researcher in the field, confronting the pain and suffering of others has been doubly problematic for me. Was my line of inquiry causing Brad pain or harm, or was this leading to some necessary point of understanding?

Brad caught his breath and forced through a sob, "You know, it's the guy's last painting." The young artist who had donated his time to the village to paint the ark was in the middle of his last-shot chemo treatment somewhere in Portland.

"I've contacted most of the past chairmen and especially Jack Tafari, who started all this, and I thanked him for the chance to change the world," Brad somehow managed to say. He was fighting through heavy tears. I tried to console him. "There's a lot of pain, a lot of pain," I said. "But I can see that now," he replied. "And I have a chance here to show the world a different way to do things, and lot of people here don't even see that" (*Dignity in Exile* 2012:17).

Even more striking about this passage is his clear and emotional attachment to the message he thinks he is carrying to the world. He is *all about* what the village represents to the critique of homelessness. After that meeting, so was I. I really wanted it to be that same place, with that vibe, and for Brad to be that same activist hero when I returned in 2011. The village can be a utopic opportunity to change the world or a dismal prison

filled with darkness and despair. In 2011 when I returned to the village, Brad had been replaced as Chairman. His drug use had become heavier following a car accident, but he had been using pretty heavily even when we interviewed in 2010. He just didn't feel it was time to tell me until I had returned, because he didn't want me having "the wrong idea about the village." He stayed inside getting high, everyday. It is now July of 2013 and he has not come out of that addiction. A chance to change the world is now a slow death mitigated by moments of meth-induced exhilaration, a rush, and then oblivion. There is the physical part of space that tells one how to geo-locate communities or people, or buildings. There is mental space, that tells us what kinds of attitude predominates a certain place, a prison, a corporate boardroom, a state of mind, like happiness. The space of critique adjoins these in a difficult to ascertain and highly unstable place, the actor. Space is what we make it as an outcome of critical deliberations with reality. The last part of the transcript explains the way other powerful agencies in the housing game think about villagers gives Brad and others pause to critically examine their place in this world.

Fig. 4. Brad in 2011, laid up in his shack. Bedpans and Urine filled bottles. Dirt and festering plates of old food. (N. Dickson).

"Later that day, I showed the residents an early version of my film, Subtext. It was a way for them to get to know me and to understand how I saw things, and to decide whether they wanted me to come stay there. The response was surprising. Most notably, villagers felt they had seen mirror images of themselves in the squatters in Toronto's defunct Tent City. They were equally angry at the way Tent City was demolished, and several remarked that Tent City probably would have had a chance at it if only they had had more structure and were able to negotiate a lease with the city.

After the viewing, Brad remarked that he was even more grateful to have his shack. He, like most people in the village, dreamt about having a home or a subsidized apartment, but the odds against actually finding mainstream housing were high in Oregon, as they were in most of the U.S. And as Brad suggested, "I can see all kinds of possible drawbacks to having housing that I never imagined before, and it makes me think."

At dusk, after the village had quieted down, Brad and I concluded our first interview, though, looking back at it literally in digital form, it does not feel like an interview. If there was such a thing as conversational anthropology, this surely was it. I was fairly certain that these folks at the village were homeless, but that the painted shacks, the gardens, the flags flying and the smell of meals being cooked on various barbeques were all symptomatic of a housed community. Brad didn't agree.

"I'm still homeless."

"But why, you have a house?"

"Technically, I'm homeless."

"According to whom?"

"The city, the state, the federal government."

"But what about in your state of mind?"

"Homelessness is a state of mind. Home is where your heart is, so you are never without a home" (ibid).

It has been instructive to recognize that the street nature of extreme poverty is carried over to conventional critiques of the camps. Villagers are vulnerable and exposed. Despite any sense of who they think they are, housed, citizen or patriot, as examples, there is always a next level of power ready to tell them who they are not and how they are failing. It does not have to be this way. Liminality makes it hard to push back. This is partly because of the poverty, partly because the people who arrive there from the streets are traumatized and have been brainwashed through years of institutionalization to believe what they are told by authorities. Often it is because non-villagers understand the village, the camps as an extension of the streets, and, therefore, the conventional urban imaginary

sees the camps in this dark and ambiguous light and its residents as temporary guests of their progressive and good will. Without sustained critical action from within, and this the founders' knew, the villagers themselves will impart this debilitating view on themselves and see it reinforced by the actions of the city. It is against this external critique of whom they are that the collective energy of the village must now turn. Still, it is hard to come up with a clear strategy for doing this from within the grip of liminality.

As the "basic component of ethnographic understanding" (a community) Dignity Village, and intentional communities in general, are perhaps the best if not the last manifestation of the ideal community model in the sense that they are literally, intentionally demarcated by measures of space, such as fence lines and gateways, thresholds and passage ways encoded and enshrined in planning documents, building codes, site maps, rules of conduct and the actual spatialization of structures on sites; each of which is type of physical measurement for defining the zone of action for the community as a *Firstspace*: the place, Dignity Village is at 9401 NE Sunderland, in Portland. It is populated by members who come to know and recognize each other, and who, within the governance of that community, are compelled to follow rules of conduct that unite people across a range of possible behaviors whose important ethnographic measure is understood as everyday experience, as time spent in *Secondspace*.

If nothing else, villagers agree that community implies or is in fact, a sense of belonging to a group and of that group to be grounded in a place. Set off to the margins of the city, and to the margins of capital, inclusive identities: *member, community*, *friend, and villager,* become meaningful at a level most of us in conventionally understood

housing take for granted. Rocky, a resident of Dignity Village, and one of the few homeless women veterans I met, once said:

"We're a family out here. We look out for each other. And nobody judges no one, cause we all been there. Even if we had a 'beef' back there (on the streets). I mean no one understands homelessness until they get here. God forbid. That's what makes this community different than normal (laughs) ones. We might be a bunch of fuck ups, but we all know we belong here, together. Hell, who else is 'gonna' let us live like this together. You tell me where?" (Phone chat, December 2012).

This statement as simple as it is, suggests that there is some value in understanding the fence, the gate, the sign and the property that contains Dignity Village as delineating a particularly unique kind of community space. Even though a villager's social relations may not be wholly bounded by that geography, for those who live in that space, the integration of conventional and homeless social and symbolic imaginaries yields social relations of particular import to the community that mirror the conventional, but would largely be rejected by it, if they happened anywhere else (Stacey 1975 in Brunt 2004:89; Mosher 2010; Weissman 2012).

If one does not understand the importance of a systematic interrogation of space to my research that likely is because they have always had a space to call home, or a community of which they were a part. We are not concerned with space and time here because they are important to me, or to you the reader. We are addressing them in these ways because these are two parameters of life that poverty and homelessness completely skews. Dignity Village is called *Dignity Village* on purpose, as Ibrahim Mubarak an ex-founder says. "We called it a village because it is a community first, and most important." In 2012, I had an instructive conversation with Dave Samson, then security head of the village:

"Where do you want to be in a year, David?"

"You mean, aside from save the whole planet in general and myself?"

"How long will you be in the village?"

"I am thinking a year. And then a bunch of us are trying to build a new intentional community. I don't want to live in Rome anymore. Our civilization is Rome and it's gonna fall. But to carry the message, first you have to build it, not just building it, living it. My carbon footprint is small. I don't want to contribute to the garbage and consumerism culture. I want to contribute to healthy, positive, sane, sober living. Sane behavior. People treating each other with dignity and respect. Human beings and animals are not trash, they are not disposable items."

"Okay, okay. So beyond the rhetoric, which I don't disagree with, what can the village do for people in the short term?"

"Relieve survival anxieties."

"And in the long term? Maybe some of them get jobs, some might get housing, and some will go back to the streets?"

"Yeah. I hate to say it," Dave concedes, "but some of them can't be saved. But as long as we offer safe communities for people, a great number more can be saved than the current system model offers."

"David, let's end this right now. What is dignity?"

"Well... having or getting the sense returned to you that you are a human being, you are worthy of time and place and community."

"Okay. Leave it on that, Dave" (*Dignity in Exile* 2012:132).

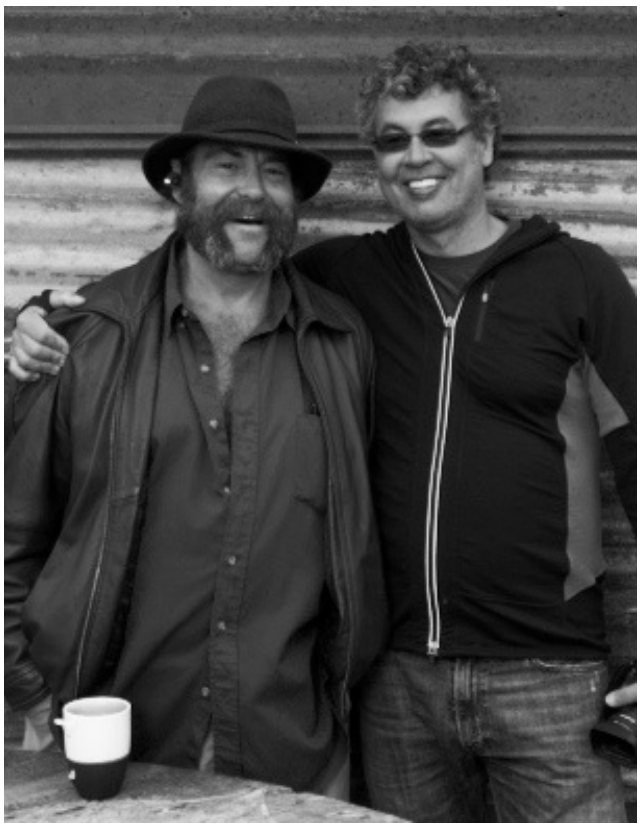


Fig. 5. Dave Samson and E. Weissman, July 2011. (N. Dickson).

Time and space are not merely targets for philosophical debate. They are fundamental concepts to all individuals and basic to pragmatic attitudes that contribute to our senses of self-worth and dignity. David says, 'deserving of time and place and community." The conflicts that threaten Dignity Village are about how to govern one's self and others in a community where time is ticking, because their use of that space, their conduct in it, is constantly under review and subject to many interpretations. There is reason to critique various kinds of space in this one example, so when we look at the critiques of the village, it will be interesting to know how they mentally construct the space, and the criteria by which to judge what goes on there. The place to start with this is to understand the political critique embedded into the village's mission 12 years ago. A certain democratic disposition towards freedom and democracy was the moral call to action, while the pragmatic concern was over how to shelter people.

Very recently, Charlie Hayles, the new Mayor of Portland was interviewed by *Street Roots* about his views on Right 2 Dream Too (R2DTOO), a recently staked homeless tent camp (2011) in downtown Portland that has been fighting fines, code inspections and criticism from the downtown business community since it "occupied" a parking lot at the gates to Portland's Chinatown in the Autumn of 2011. One of the founders of R2DTOO, Ibrahim Mubarak, had co-founded Dignity Village, 11 years earlier.

(Israel Bayer – Editor of Street Roots) I.B.: *What's the answer for Right 2 Dream Too?*

(Charlie Hayles) C.H.: I think the answer is a different site that is a good place to live that doesn't have the friction that that site has. I was on the council when we approved the creation of Dignity Village. It is clearly a success.

It seems to me that Right 2 Dream Too is on the way to being that kind of sustainable, self-managed community. It's not in the right location on the corner of Fourth and Burnside. I think there are partnership possibilities between organizers and residents of Right 2 Dream, property owners, other non-profits and public agencies that will lead to positive outcomes.

I went out to Dignity Village last fall. I am impressed. I've been to Right 2 Dream a couple of times. You see people really doing a great job, managing that enterprise for themselves. I've got a lot of confidence in the capacity of those folks to make this work. It's up to the larger community, me included, to try to find a place for the camp to land that makes sense.
(By **Street Roots Staff** | 28 Feb 2013)

There is no way to predict if the mayor's position will translate into ordinances that legally legitimize this claim, but such places have entered the knowledge processes by which cities are rationalizing their other housing strategies, and by which homeless activists are using critique to displace established practices, because of the example laid out by Dignity Village. Discussions of the intentional community movement cannot take place in isolation from discussions about broader power and knowledge structures and the contest for urban space. Some of the comments on the Street Roots' Facebook page express the range of critique amongst more sympathetic Portlanders.

"Dignity village is great because the inhabitants make it so, but jebus [sic] the place is between an empty prison and a giant manure pile. I'm sorry Portland, YOU CANNOT JUST MAKE THE HOUSELESS DISAPPEAR LIKE SO MUCH GARBAGE." (A. Davis)

"Reading between the lines, I think our new mayor is saying we need to get the houseless community out of sight. The city does not have the will to provide a solution to the homeless problem. Until they do, R2 needs to be replicated to serve greater numbers, not moved away from the services that low income folks need access to." (G. Margolis)

"There are many positives in this statement, a testimony to the incredible work of R2DTOO. But I agree with others, Hales wants us out of there. And he wants the "larger community" to decide where we go. This is what we need to address. That the people who are affected get to say where we go. Let's take initiative and start looking and proposing places. We have leverage." (A. LaFleur)

Each of these remarks underscores important themes in this dissertation. Most importantly, there is the recognition that homeless camps like Dignity Village and R2DTOO are seen as legitimate democratic opposition[9] to the goals of city governance, opposition in the sense that they critique and interfere with the plans of capital or other

elites in the management of the city's poor and the city's space, understood as a commodity with monetary value, and that they do this by invoking laws and codes of conduct that are generally framed as a matter of constitutional, and therefore, American, rights. This position suggests that the activists, who fight for space, must struggle with and resist the interest of other powerful groups, but that their position relative to other power claims is not that of being completely dominated while the *action is in play*. Until the final decision is made in a court, or by an act of legislation at some level of government, the action has power and merit. "We have leverage," one respondent says, "Let's take initiative…" These are fainter, yet parallel calls to those made by the Housing Liberation Front in 2000, in its fight for Dignity Village.[10]

Currently, Dignity Village is at a crossroad. Entrenched and comfortable in their "homes," some members see the village as a permanent solution to their homelessness; they have no interest in moving beyond the poverty of the village or have little faith that the state will provide for their housing needs. They are unwilling to provoke the ire of the city and the public by being "radicals." At the same time, a handful of villagers cling to the mission of the founders to carry the housing message to the community in general by establishing more camps as a matter of social justice. They understand the village to be a symbolic community with an obligation to live up to the legacy of the founders. Others see it as a safe haven in which to get their lives together, establish work and other conventional relationships, and overcome the anxieties and trauma of street life. They express the desire to reclaim lost lives and loves.

2.4 Structure and Agency, Active and Activist Citizens

This range of responses raises questions about how structural conditions can produce diverse experience for homeless actors who occupy a fairly closed and similar discursive and actual space. Clearly I am making an assumption that structure is real to actors but that does not make it universally the same. There are many reasons to do this, especially as it pertains to homelessness. In 2010 on my first visit to the village, then CEO, Brad Powell, told me,

> "Well, it's just my theory, but I believe that when you become homeless, you have no rules. So you have no structure. You're not used to being told you have to do this or you have to do that. When people come here to live, the only requirement used to be that you were homeless, and now the city has required us to pay a liability insurance and so, on top of the ten hours of work toward the upkeep of the village, now you're required to pay 20 a month for the insurance on the property… and the city has agreed to leave us alone and pretty much let us run the place as long as we do it in an appropriate manner, and I think after ten years we have shown that we can do that."
>
> Brad was very insistent that daily routines and social structure were important (not to be confused with structure or structures, the terms they also use to refer to their shacks). Jon Boy, who had stood by this whole time and had nodded or shaken his head, had to leave to take a call, but he suggested we meet in his place later. I agreed. "It saved me. Saved him too," Brad said. "What exactly?" I asked. "Structure. Order, I mean rules, not being afraid of rules. I mean we make the rules here so it's better for us here than out there" (From *Dignity in Exile* 2012: 8).

I examine this in greater detail in subsequent chapters because I debate that they had successfully proven their ability to govern. Let us start with the following: homelessness is a concept that generally defines the worst off poor in terms of marginality or distance from an imaginary center, which is a structural perception: programs for the homeless and this includes aspects of Dignity Village are structured with rules, obligations, and codes for acceptable participation in them: the fact that structures exist does not require that all actors experience them the same way, and so

critique is likely to have many faces and many expressions, even amongst people who are said to be part of the same structural community.

Living in the village requires homeless people to at least consider the debates that produced the village, its history and failed traditions, and the current debates about where the village can go as an experiment with a ticking clock. As of the writing of this dissertation, they have 1.5 years left on a contract that many feel will be the last. Villagers debate how to resolve their poor public image and the administrative incapacity of the village. Out of the knowledge produced in these debates homeless actors come to understand themselves as deserving or underserving "selves," and this impacts the choices they make towards critical action. Taking agency to mean the ability of the individual to make her own choices, structure is often counter-positioned to this, as that institutional part of society, which imposes the values and means by which individuals are directed to exercise this agency if at all (Bourdieu 1972; Foucault 1975; Giddens 1976; Bakhtin 1993, 1982; De Certeau 1986; Latour 2005; Isin 2008; Nielsen 2008).

One must address this debate over agency and structure because in advanced liberal society *defined as strategies for governing autonomous individuals though their freedom*, according to Rose (1999:84), citizenship implicates the subject into an idealized world of action organized around customs and methods for facilitating his participation in practices of decision making with others. Isin (2008) distinguishes between an *activist citizen whose* act is an inversion or break with habitus, and an *active citizen*, whose engages in these other practices of freedom that we confuse with acts. An act of citizenship then is unusual and questions these practices in search of social justice. I will

test these distinctions as we go along because of the way these two identities tend to divide villagers in their critical orientation to housing justice.

Critique of housing is also part of governance. Resistance to the critical action by homeless groups will vary depending on how the critique is perceived by those in a position to *reject* it, such as the city council. PEOC then looks at the critical action between villagers as actors in a tentative democracy, and also between the village and broader systems of democratic governance that are powerful too – how do they perceive the claim? What made the claim for better housing, or for a piece of land on which to build a camp, deserving of consideration not only for homeless people, but those in a potentially powerful position to have rejected it, such as city councils or business groups? Perhaps most importantly, what do villagers understand as the means to keep this critically powerful place in the discourse on housing?

Beyond the village, critics look at the village as an unjust occupation of public land by undeserving squatters, and as a failed transitional housing experience. Supporters prefer to see it as a bold and laudable housing action by deserving citizens. In the former the villager is imagined as a lawless drug infested den of iniquity, in the latter, a self-governed tribute to democracy in the making. Hence, it is not easy to define the village in terms of what *kind* of place, or community it is. It is more apt to understand the diversity it represents, because understanding how different actors comprehend the village from within and without as a space with infinite possibilities and meanings, speaks to the lengths they are willing to go as actors in pursuit of critical action. The question is vital to me because when I was there, I did not see much collective critical action, and those

few activists I did meet at the village were afraid of powerful factions who threatened to kick them out. This had me wondering what exactly does democracy mean then?

Fig. 6. Ibrahim Mubarek 2012 (R2DTOO Website Photo)
(www.youtube.com/watch?v=gWwBPs4XmRs

2.5 Liminal Democracy: A Conversation with
Ibrahim Mubarek, Co-founder of Dignity Village, founder of R2DTOO (July 13 2011)

Well into my stay at Dignity Village in July 2011 my perspective on intentional housing camps had changed drastically as a result of the horror stories I had heard from visitors to other tent camps, like Seattle's Tent City 3 and 4. My greatest source of anxiety was the absolute reversal of the community spirit I had witnessed a year earlier. Witnessing day after day the negativity and lack of motivation within Dignity Village, I very seriously questioned the validity of such communities. I had been told that I should talk to some of the founders who were in the Portland area. I tried to speak with one in particular for weeks, but he was always out on activist business, engaged in an action or a meeting or a protest - busy with various housing actions, one of which included the

planning stages of a well-thought out occupation of a piece of prime downtown Portland. It would come to fruition some months later as "Right To Dream Too," a tent camp supporting up to 50 street folks with emergency sleep, showers and food on a non-resident basis – emergency camping that is (R2DTOO - September 2011). Finally on July 16, we met and I went for a walk though downtown Portland with Ibrahim Mubarak. "Ib" had been a co-founder of Dignity Village from 2000-2004. He had left the village once it was up and running shortly after that and moved in and out of homelessness but kept himself engaged in homeless activism in the city.

When I met him in 2011, he lived in a house with a few other members of his activist network. A couple was camped in his backyard and another couple slept in their mini van on his driveway. It was a modest house, the gardens lush and full as were most in the damp Portland climate. Ibrahim, like most of the activist community in Portland had stopped visiting Dignity Village. Ibrahim had said something, which echoed clearly the sentiment of what most housing activists and the street homeless themselves had said to me in my jaunts downtown; he said:

"When they gave up fighting for the rights of homeless people, we had to start fighting for us, not them living up there – they got themselves housing. We're down here dying on the streets. They just don't know how much they need us too. We need each other."

I respected Ibrahim's use of the collective "we." In the last decade he had gone from being homeless, to help in the fight for and the construction of Dignity Village, and had made his way into a nice home, but had never lost his sense of connection to the struggle of the thousands of Portland's men and women who lived on the streets.[11]

I finally managed to get him to meet me and do some interviews because I told him on the phone one day, that the village was on the verge of a collapse. I was astonished

that it had turned so disappointedly downward since only a year earlier when I had done my first fieldwork. "You need to come out here man. You need to show them they still have ties. This place is so lost…" I was quite frankly experiencing a collapse of a sort. It was partly emotional, and partly intellectual, this sudden sense of desperation. On the one hand, I was struggling to observe the daily fighting and mismanagement of the village. On the other, this great idea of a noble act of citizenship that I had theorized the village to be when I started my PhD. was turning out to be a fallacy, and I was hard pressed to conceptualize how to discuss the village. I imagine when I called him that he understood that the village and I were each in a desperate place. So we met the next day. Ptery who lived in the village and was one of only two active activists, agreed to bring me to meet Ibrahim. They were friends. Ibrahim was tutoring Ptery and another villager, Brad Gibson, in the ways of housing activism.

Fig. 7. Ptery in July 2011. (N. Dickson).

Dignity in Exile 2012: 83-87

For Ptery, Dignity Village was the discursive site of debates that go beyond mere housing or social structure: it was the site of discourses that embody a complete restructuring of the way we as humans conducted ourselves with this planet. Ptery had come to visit Dignity Village in August of 2010, a few weeks after my first visit. Ptery

had been living in Seattle's well-known Tent City #4 (TC4). Life in Seattle was hard. Tent City 4 is still a temporary campground for about 100 homeless folks. They slept in tents and temporary huts formed from materials they scrounged up in the nearby city waste, or received as donations from "sponsors." Run by an organization called Share/Wheel, Tent City #4 was highly organized and, according to Ptery, had been managed well, better than Tent Cities 1 and 2, which no longer functioned. "But 3 still does. How I got here? To the village? I just heard of these new movements going on in Oregon, and for me it was not about finding housing, but carrying the message. So I came down to investigate things in Portland, and on the way back I needed a place to crash, so I stayed at the village one night – fell in love with it here. The fact that Dignity is a stable village—"

"Stable?" I asked. Had it ever been stable, I wondered.

"Well, Share/Wheel does a good job, but TC4 and the other 14 camps which they have on church lots, by law, get moved all the time. Nickelsville is another good example, you know, the one we have been reading about in the news? It was a TC too, and it was moved 14 times. A few months here, a few months there, and every time 100 people have to pack up and it's just to be moved to another spot. To keep the city and the state happy. So good rich folks don't get jumpy about things."

"So this village is relatively stable then, I guess?" I was astonished.

"Yeah, believe me, compared to other places, this is really stable," he reassured me.

Nevertheless, Share/Wheel had a policy the village could benefit from. Even though residents of Dignity Village could become members, if they chose to, they didn't have to in order to live there. Share/Wheel required its residents to become members, and required them to participate in decision-making and other community activities as part of their membership. In other words, all members were expected to take part in the self-management of the community. In Dignity, since membership had become a choice rather than mandatory, the self-regulating value of broad membership had declined in the village.

It had been argued by Ptery, and other activists he introduced to me, that this creative citizenship was an empowering feature of such communities. To be a member meant to be part of the decision-making process. In Dignity Village, this was part of the original design, but this practice had been and continues to be ignored. Many members chose not to vote for personal reasons. This is an unfortunate loss for the villagers. It seemed to me, and to Ptery, that what the required participation really did was give disenfranchised and lost people an opportunity to practice conversational and social skills in a highly normalized and competitive arena. In this sense their political actions and opinions could be seen as legitimate. They would have found voice and the freedom to pursue their rights as most citizens could.

Ptery wanted the world to enter a conversation about how we lived as part of the fabric of the planet. Not as a festering blight upon it. The first day Ptery was in Dignity

Village was the official ten-year celebration, and Ptery had met one of the founding members, Ibrahim Mubarak. Ibrahim, a tall, deep voiced and well-spoken man, was serious about housing. And for Ptery, in the midst of a journey to find a place to carry the message, meeting Ibrahim, and seeing the relative stability of Dignity Village were in keeping with Ptery's conversational approach to life.

"So the universe was speaking to you," I suggested.

"It's speaking to all of us, Eric."

"You know, it's fitting that we are next to a giant compost heap. The village is kind of a compost heap. Homelessness is kind of a compost heap. The greatest things, the nicest flowers, come out of compost. People come here, and they are not here because of the great choices they made or because life has been good to them. Not very often. A few of us come to carry the message. But look around, Eric. Do you think these people want to, or can carry a message? Now? They are here because they can't break down anymore. The crap that society makes people do to live right just isn't working for everyone, and they fail. Well, at least society calls it that. But they just can't break down anymore. So they come here to rise up."

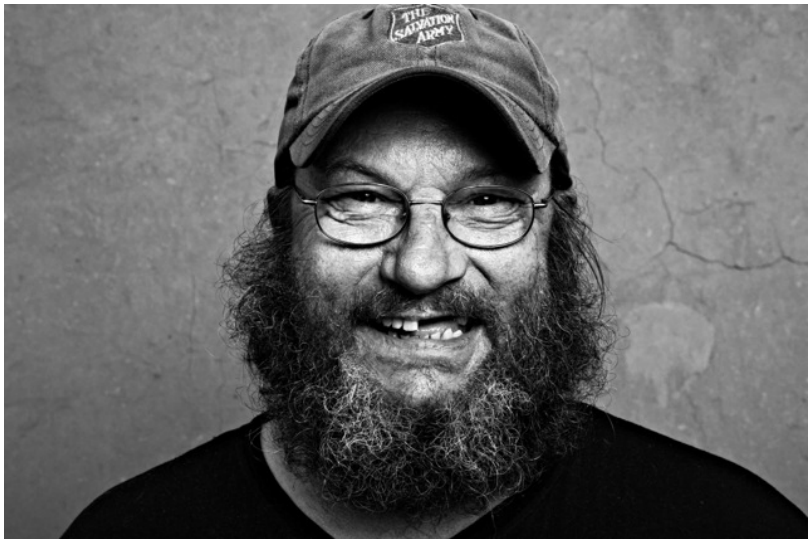


Fig. 8. Brad Gibson. Village CEO, July 2011 (N. Dickson).

(Video of Brad and Ptery "activating" - www.youtube.com/watch?v=tRrUJdmnJZw)

Dignity in Exile (2012: 80-83).

In the autumn of 2011, Brad and a few other members of Dignity aided the R2D2 group in a successful occupation of a choice piece of downtown acreage. At the gates of Portland's popular Chinatown, they set up a tent camp for 50 people by signing a one-year lease with the landowner. As Ibrahim Mubarak, the key figure in the group and ex-cofounder of Dignity Village, told me, "This is how it is done. You can't sit in your subsidized house or your apartment and change things. Carry the message, my brother,

carry it by showing it." Brad, become inspired by the housing action. The logistic details are fairly well guarded by the group, but Brad and I discussed how they might use donated goods and materials to fabricate the platforms and the high wall that would surround the lot. I asked how much the rent was, but the amount they paid was unclear. I was told by one of the settlers that the fee was nominal, perhaps only a dollar for the year, and suited the landlord's desire to irk city officials who had challenged him on other zoning-related issues. They were able to occupy the land because it suited the landowner's desire for revenge. But in the meantime, their presence in a highly visited part of the city was carrying the message. Regardless of how successful the occupation is now measured, the landlord's desire to shake things up presented a loophole that the group was, back then, able to exploit, much as Dignity had pounced on a loophole in state law back in 2001. Without clearly defined laws that guarantee the rights of the poor to housing, housing activists have had to be aware of any legal ambiguities they could exploit to push for the rights of the poor.

While the rest of the city, the state, the country and activists around the world had particular views on Dignity Village, views that generally reified the alternative and sustainable qualities of the place, my being there had quickly revealed a darker if not stagnant side to life. When I told Ibrahim this, he didn't sound surprised. He looked at me and smiled. He is a tall man, Black, Muslim, devout; still proudly American. Gold capped tooth. When he smiles, it is impossible to escape his charisma. He looked at me through that smile as if to say, "Duh. What did you expect?" He would never say that. He was dignified, and dignity meant respect, for one's self and others, at least that is what it meant to Ibrahim. The following is a transcription of video I shot and my comments.

He started, "It's like the American country, when the forefathers fought against, England, the British, they had a concept, and they wanted that freedom. They had that fight in them. And now people that's born in this county take it for granted, you know they say: 'this country's good, bam, this country's here, this is a good country,' whereas, you know in other countries people are still struggling. And I don't think the hard-core homeless (in the US) don't struggle as much as people in third block countries. So they're here with you might say a so-called silver spoon in they mouths. And that's what happens to (homeless) people when they go out there to Dignity Village – they say: 'Wow, I don't have to do nothing, I can just stay here and exist.' And there's more to life than just existing. It's a difference between life and survival, man."

One of the reasons I had wanted to meet him was to understand how it might be that the political factions who were controlling the village's democratic government might be overcome, and a more representative voice created.

"The leadership now is only seven people, and it is supposed to be 22…" I intonate the statement as a question.

"Yeah, well…no. No everybody there's a leader, you just have spokespersons, that's the way it's supposed to be."

I nod because I know how it is supposed to be because I, like most other outsiders, have read the web site and had seen the village promotional videos. "But no these cliques really control who gets into power… and that's really a problem," I have to insist.

He agrees. "Yeah, that's a problem, right. And like I said they get that from grade school. We're taught cliques and power. Its like the Blacks hang out with each other. The Whites hang out with each other. The women hang out with each other. The sports guys hang out with each other…. And it takes a community, an effort of all people -- people don't understand the Quran much here in this country, so I usually go to the Bible and I tell them about Babel, and how they was one people and then how God caused a confusion to come on them. And they had different language, different lifestyles. So they was stuck with the people that could understand. And that's how cliques form – and the only thing that was missing was an interpreter. So… Dignity Village need an interpreter to interpret rules, to interpret life. To interpret how to survive with self-sufficiency. You know I went to the US social forum in Detroit last year, I saw how that city is destroyed by greed and laziness, but now they's starting to rise up with communal living. You got people living together – you got people growing gardens together, feeding off the land, and that was the Dignity Village model – a community… that's why we called it 'village".

He pauses briefly, and looks at me again with those eyes and that grin, and smiles, in a questioning tone, he says/asks, "it takes a village? So that's what they were doing and they need to stick together and figure out a way to survive, 'cause everybody got a right to survive." He smiles looking for acknowledgement from Ptery. (One of the Dignity village activists who came with me to introduce me to the active side of Portland). The smile capriciously framed around the phrase, "right to survive" the name of his housing activist group.

Ibrahim was very much the professional activist. He had that charismatic capacity to impress ideas on people. He was not imposing.

"So they need to start growing their own vegetables, they need to start cooperating again, they need to stop fighting from inside. Cause that's what's gonna destroy them. The city, you know the city's just sitting back and saying, 'okay, just watch it, watch them mess-up' and that's exactly what they're doing because they're free… and they don't know how to make their decisions because they used to people telling them, 'wake up at 6 o'clock, go out in the rain, come back at 7, but we gonna be feeding at 6 …at night, we gonna be feeding at 12 at noon, and you can use the showers at this time or the next day,' and then, 'we got this amount of fresh clothes…' they always being told – dictated to – they don't know how to make their decisions. Like I said (earlier) they took their will power away from them and instead of making them independent, they made them DEE-pendent, so that's why they sit out there with their palms up – gimme' gimme' gimme', and waitin' waitin' waitin'. (At the village they say:) 'If I sit here long enough

somebody gonna' bring something to the village, I don't ever need to leave the village… I can stay here.'"
"And they don't leave," I interject.
"I know," he says, "they stay calm, they stay in jail…"
"Even their drugs come to them" I add.
He pauses slightly. Looks again with that smile. "And that's a sin and a shame (chuckles, nervously)."
I implore him. "You need to come and be a voice, just one voice. Maybe just one day even –?"

He laughs. I am not sure if he is being humble, or if he finds some irony in this - I mean he was the original voice of Dignity Village: Ibrahim, Jack Tafari, some others. He is one of the loudest voices in Portland now. Ptery who introduced me to Ibrahim is learning from Ibrahim. His smile I surmise reveals the confidence that his voice is louder than I know. But then why aren't all the folks at Dignity listening? What happened to that voice that created the moment that became Dignity Village? I suggest it to him again, "You really need to get out there. They need to hear it."

"God's will," he says, "God's will." Laughing, laughing, nervously.

There is a hesitance in Ibrahim's voice. He looks over at Ptery.
Ptery, who has been living at the village for a year, was attracted to Dignity Village for exactly the model of sustainable democratic community that was pitched to him when he arrived. Since then, the other villagers cloistered in their idleness and hands-out comfort, a sort of terminal liminality I had been calling it when at the village, had been hard on Ptery, discouraging his activism. This was, it seemed to him and me, a complete abandonment of the ethos that was behind Dignity Village's triumph as the first city sanctioned shantytown in modern US history.
… Ptery and I sort of look at each other. Hesitant to speak, I finally offer to Ibrahim by way of a polite challenge, "I don' know what your hesitance is, I know there is emotional stuff there, I know you have emotional and painful attachments there to the place, still…that lingers for you, and I know to go back there and to speak to them is a heavy duty thing for you…"

Ibrahim looks serious, and pensive. "It may be heavy duty, I may be strict and firm on them to let them know what I would like for them to get a congregation together and walk with me…Ptery and Brad Gibson are good representatives and they should let those people be ambassadors for Dignity Village and come (out here) and learn and let what Ptery and Brad learn be brought to them so they can learn to be leadership. And they can get involved in things what happening in the city—go to city hall and see what city hall is doing. You know it's like they sitting out there with the laws, the unjust laws being imposed on (homeless) people down here, and they not going to be affected by it. Well they wrong, they're wrong."
"Well there's problems out there too" I add.
"Right! Right! So the first what they gotta do is put a blockade up around Dignity Village and kick everyone out who's not following the by-laws…"
At this point Ptery and I are a little shocked. I mean, no one follows all of the by-laws.
"Tell them to leave!" he adds shaking his head resolutely.
"But who's gonna' tell them?" I ask.
"You have people on the council doing shit (drugs or dealing drugs)," Ptery adds.

"People on the council are all doing shit," I confirm.

Ibrahim looks a bit more serious. "Now that's where you come back to your constitutional rights. Everybody in there got constitutional rights… If the government aint doing for you what the people voted them to do, they get impeached. They don't get voted back in. They should be replaced. So that's the same thing in Dignity Village… What they need to do is follow the old concept of the village—you have to be in good standing. You have to come out and do activism. That was one of the things they had - they have to do - come out do activist work for the homeless community - the leadership, the council, the chairman, the vice-chair, the treasurer, the secretary, they the ones who need to be out here doing that work. How can they know how to run and teach the people at the village, if they ain't getting no kind of education. Their job ain't to sit around there and do nothing."

Ibrahim was for all intents and purposes the iconic villager activist. He was patient, and motivated during our interviews. I had to add, "You really need to come talk to these people and let them know what it was like and what it was meant to be."

"God's will."

"I am pressuring you, but in a friendly way," I offer.

He laughs deeply. Ptery's eyes roll.

"I just know that if … that place needs a shaking up, and if someone like you doesn't come and shake it up, I just know it's gonna fail." He nods. Commits to coming out before or after Ramadan.

I ask him what he would say to people in my world, outside of Portland about places like Dignity Village. Should other cities let there be Dignity Villages? He and I both knew about or had visited some of the dozen tent camps and intentional communities, some permanent and vying for legal rights, in the Oregon-Washington corridor. But Dignity Village was a legally self-governed corporation; it had rights. Should there be more?

"Do you think what you guys started there more than ten years ago, could be adopted in others cities, or should be?"

He didn't even have to pause to think about his response. "I think it should be adopted in other cities where the government should give people a chance to redeem themselves. It used to be, you commit a crime, you pay just dues for it by doing community service, going to jail, or whatever and you can get back to the floor of society. We become an unforgiving nation where we don't forgive easily. We hold people down from being progressive. And this (the village) is a way for people to get their self-esteem, their motivations, their scruples and their principles back together into being somebody. Now this is what happens when you know your constitutional rights. You can achieve this because nobody above their constitutional rights and you can do that but you have to do that and think of everybody, not just yourself, and one individual. And this should be done, and it can be done, and it will be done, or this country and every country like it is going to fail."

Some hours later, I went back to my shack in the village. There was so much bickering and fighting over stupid things, mundane nonsense: who received more donations than the next guy, why Whitefoot got the last piece of fried chicken, was Mitch going to use more than his share of electricity sanding wood for the mirrors he was making, all mundane nonsense. There was no discussion whatsoever between villagers

about the new city imposed contract, or about community issues like how to raise funds for the servicing of the outhouses. No one ever, ever, engaged in spontaneous communication with others about the 3,000 or so homeless men and women on the streets or about what the village should be doing to help out these others. In the village, citizens were consumed by their personal needs and this just didn't seem right. "They are like spoiled children," I had jotted in my fieldnotes. They were critical of each other but of critique, I found no evidence, at least not then. Was Ibrahim imagining a whole other place? I wondered.

Ibrahim's conversation with me is rich and exciting, and passionate, and riddled with conflict and counter-intuitive observations. He speaks well; animated, clearly a man of skill and charisma who has given the matter of rights and housing activism a great deal of thought. Still, in the same breath he talks of an alternative and self-governed community where people have rights and freedom, and then speaks to the need to curtail, restrain and structure those actors in accordance with fundamental village principles. At the same time as he speaks of the need for more communities where homeless people can govern themselves, he insists that these places need to confirm extant constitutional and legal codes; freedom and constraint issue forth in the same rhetorical commitment to alternative community. He calls for the village and the leadership to be critical and conformist, at the same time, from within the same mental and physical living space. There is a sense of the idealistic and normative value of such space, and what it could represent "if only," or perhaps as might have once been, or might be, *one day in the future*, and so there is too a certain naïve practical hopefulness to achieving these ends that he suggests. While he professes liberation through democracy, he reiterates examples of how this liberation requires a degree of domination.

His understanding of events at Dignity Village, what freedom and autonomy mean, and the role of activism within democracies, conveys various antagonisms between central and competing themes in my research of homeless camps. A central theme is the

difficulty with understanding, let alone challenging, events around you when you are poor, homeless and struggling with matters of practical existence such as safety, shelter, food and addictions. Practical reason in this context is wrapped up in micro-experiential and often fleeting social situations where results – getting fed, getting high – are expected to occur quickly. It is easy to lose sight of the 'bigger picture' or form attachments to *causes* no matter how noble, when just getting through the day is often difficult. Having been on the streets, or queued up in waiting lines for shelters and welfare as part of long and unfortunate time spent on the streets, hardly instills patience in a person, or contributes to learning the skills one needs to be an activist. In this poor world where critique and action are steered towards exigencies of living and forging alliances with other villagers who can help you out with daily struggles, creating knowledge about broader commitments to housing activism for example, is difficult to achieve. This sets limits on the potential for a homeless survivor to become a political subject interested in the visionary concerns of his community, and deepens the morass of liminality.

2.6 Crisis of Community, Crisis of Democracy

Unless one assumes that by virtue of corporeal existence all persons are at least able to be political, one can see how the tension between critical action directed towards survival anxieties, places pragmatic action towards these over the broader concerns of "social critique" - understood here primarily, though not exclusively, to participation in or deliberations about housing activism. Elsewise the citizen literally disappears altogether, corporeally. Even if one might have political opinions, as most homeless folks do, seeing how the system works and discerning means by which to participate in

political action, is rare from within it because the bulk of life is spent in matters of dire exigency. Yet these two needs, the need of individuals to survive on a daily basis and the village community's need to collectively compete with other powerful political entities and thereby survive, abrade the social unity of Dignity Village, and contribute to what I call in this dissertation, a *crisis of community*.

This crisis is not new. It has been part of the village since 2004-2006, when most of the old guard who had the necessary political skill to fight for its rights back in 2000-2001, left for other lives. The current crisis is largely because of a critical incapacity amongst villagers to see how the various powerful systems of meaning, such as housing policies and welfare systems that permeate village life from beyond the gates, might be understood differently and addressed with renewed critique. The leadership of the village is constantly faced with the numerous problems of managing a community in poverty and rarely have the capacity or experience to engage in the activist ethos that has historically energized the village. As Ibrahim suggests, they sit there waiting for goods and services to come to them, instead of actively pushing for those services as a matter of social justice. Villagers more or less accept the support and few services mitered down to them as just, if not the best they can do. This is not the case. With the application of concerted effort and pressure on the city, such services and new ways of getting support could be figured out. Ibrahim's R2DTOO and Opportunity Village, a new intentional camp in Eugene Oregon, will be frequently referred to in this work as a counterpoint to the idleness of Dignity Village.

While some of its opponents critique the village on its consistent failure to transit people from homelessness to a short supply of conventional housing and jobs, the

villager becomes wrapped up in a village world that becomes "everything" to them. They limit their personal and political critical capacities to the boundaries of the village, grudgingly participating in council meetings and village politics, in order to fulfill the participation requirement of the village, eschewing any activist role that might bring about any meaningful change to the power that hems in the community. In the village, they have temporary status in homes, chores, politics, relationships and society; it is a liminal (transitional) world that fails to transition people to the recovered, conventional lives it has promised. Suspended in limbo, drug use is epidemic amongst the villagers. This is a multifariously constructed space that critique has had a fundamentally difficult time to anticipate. Pitched to the world as a democratically self-governed community (as if that is a good thing for people with few leadership or citizen skills) invites us to ask what that means to the formation of critical actors at Dignity.

Derrida (2005) famously instructs us that democracy is yet to come, constantly being invented, and I think then, it is perpetually liminal, and participants in democracies are by participation in it, to a certain degree, liminal political personae. It is perhaps a Catch-22, a vicious cycle, or some other cliché of ironic despair, but the village is a socially produced space that is failing to be what Lefebvre understands to be more than a "mere container for human action" (1991:27); if one critically examines what people who live there say, then one must admit that it has come to resemble what De Tocqueville (1840) argued was all that is good, and all that is bad about American democracy,

> Although men cannot become absolutely equal unless they are entirely free, and consequently equality, pushed to its furthest extent, may be confounded with freedom, yet there is good reason for distinguishing the one from the other. The taste, which men have, for liberty and that which they feel for equality are, in fact, two different things; and I am not afraid to add that among democratic nations they are two unequal things.

And a few lines later,

> The advantages that freedom brings are shown only by the lapse of time, and it is always easy to mistake the cause in which they originate. The advantages of equality are immediate, and they may always be traced from their source ([1840] 2004 Book Two (1): 1).

I understand De Tocqueville, to be saying that equality or one's relative equality (under the law) is understood by villagers (in this case) to be a commensurate measure of having freedom, and in the sense he makes, being *politically equal* to participate (as freedom), satisfies the immediate need of gratification that homelessness imposes on people I study. They don't see a "greater" freedom, because it had been taken from them by life's events. The freedom they have is available, while a greater freedom seems unobtainable. And in any event, life in the village is better than a life on the streets. A certain desirable quality or experience in the moment, a room in which to sleep, food to eat, drugs to sniff, to shoot, the rush, a few hours of bliss, are generally more secure and surely more satisfying, or so they think, than more freedom down the road, which might cost them the relative equality they now have (a shack, donated clothes and food stamps).[12]

Even in critiques of social justice such as debates over poverty, housing and gender equality, it is not given that a successful claim (one that achieves certain goals which are always unique) renders power and inequality unimportant for organizing social life. The best one can hope for is that the fundamentally just issue at the heart of the critique is recognized by the action. But there is still power, and human history and the example I just gave demonstrates quite clearly that this can never be equally distributed amongst all persons, and at all times. From the very beginning, the pragmatic critique that led to the building of Dignity Village was oriented towards these unfortunate ends. There quite

simply is no longer a fundamentally just issue that binds the group together or a sense of collectivity that compels them to search for one. If you can get enough support to be powerful, you can make any critique work in the village, even if it is potentially damaging to the community. Following Derrida (1994, 2005) this orientation is understood as emblematic of an "autoimmune" or inherent flaw in democracy, that questions the emancipating possibility of its inherent logic[13] - questions equally highlighted by Ibrahim's testimony. In the sense that democracy means that the freedom of some must displace the freedom of others, there is an inherent tension between actors seeking different ends, regardless of means, or the same ends but through different means.

Michels (1949 [1915]) presented the notion of the Iron Law of Oligarchy, which claims that in all democratic societies leadership eventually produces systems by which to dominate and oppress its members, largely through the expansion of bureaucracy into the daily lives of members (Hyland 1965). In large societies, this has been well argued to be very true (Michels 1915; Lipset 1959; Jung et al 2010). In smaller groups, mostly studied as small political parties, such as unions, there is some sense that Democracy works better (Lipset 1956; Enjolras and Holmen-Waldhal 2008). That is; members have more direct influence on decisions and methods by which laws are carried out. Lipset (1956) identified the means by which trade unions are able to avoid the oligarchic usury that Michels had expounded. Lipset also argued that economic development was directly related to democratic capacity (1959). In the absence of economic diversity and wealth, this capacity decays into factions and disarray. Participant observation in the community of Dignity Village by Mosher (2010), and mine for this dissertation (2010-2013), observes how democratic self-rule led to a series of impeachments and entrenched

factions that over time crippled the village in direct action and protest, and battered the village's image to its critics. This tends to support Lipset's hypothesis. Rather than engaging citizens in a process where they can express themselves freely by voting for or against ideas and principles, as autonomous citizens, the social reality now requires villagers to align with and vote for the representatives of powerful factions in the village in order to secure protection and support in village affairs. This action is governed by practical concerns disguised in a rhetorical idealism, which they call *democracy*. To me this is oligarchic factionalism. Oddly enough, Mitch Grubic, Dave Samson, Lisa Larson and Brad Gibson, each a past or present member of the village council, understand this as normal democratic "politicking."

This is part of the autoimmune deficiency of democracy that Derrida had described. We can think of this autoimmunity as evidence of what in his deconstructionism Derrida (1996) would call aporia; but in this case we are talking about a feature of the system (democracy) that forces it to contradict the very ethos on which it professes to matter. Following his earlier thoughts about "la démocratie à venir," in *Spectres of Marx* (1993) and *The Politics of Friendship (*1994), in *Rogues: Two essays on reason,* (2005) Derrida in my most simple terms suggests that democracy as we understand it is always an attack on itself from within. He explains this as an autoimmunity in two important anti-logical dimensions. First, democracy suggests emancipation from sovereign rule by extending the power to affect change to all citizens. Democracy needs to express liberty and equality in those terms, but it also needs to enclose and encapsulate participants in that system under notions of a sovereignty, the nation, the village for example, each of which supposes leadership and empowered authority, over a group, and which by definition,

suggests that democracy cannot exist without sovereignty. Even the terms of freedom and liberty that one might find in the village documents and by-laws (in chapter six) provide a sovereign set of standards. Secondly, very simply put, the villager recognizes her freedom as paramount, and that all others are equally free. It is only in this way that Democracy makes any sense. The autoimmunity is that the citizens' incalculable freedom is impossible where others have power over others, and *that* is democracy, as we know it. While the obvious tension between these aspects suggests the impossibility of idealistic democracy, Derrida argues that democracy is yet to come. It is not guaranteed that this will be a peaceful or emancipating transition. There will be more and less democratic emergences in this perpetual event of becoming, but it suggests that in a very basic way, all citizens who claim to be democratically governed, are in part liminal personae within the system itself, and internally, as persons coming to know what democracy and freedom means to them. The village provides a very unique place then, one that rides the emergent issues raised by its own liminal and self-regulated "democracy of poverty" as Dave Samson has called it, which produces a variety of local understandings, and one that rides currents of debate about housing and shelter within the larger democracy of which it is merely a part. Each of these competing levels of democratic identity contributes to the villager's sense of right and wrong, and therefore to what degree they might be willing to fight for the village or remain suspended in liminality.

At a very fundamental level essential to the formation of political subjectivities, participants in my research create stories and narratives to make sense of personal, social and political actions they take or more importantly, that they do not take, in this context of insecurity and material depravity that an exterior critical position about how to govern

could fault if the survival anxieties (finding shelter, food, drugs etc.) that underscore the action was not made explicit. These narratives amount to an essentially pragmatic critical attitude about how villagers understand their freedoms and liberties and the nature of homelessness within both these contexts; American neoliberal democratic thought, and the unique interpretation of democracy in the village. The complexity of their standpoint is impossible to understand or to collaboratively interrogate with villagers without a critical, pragmatic and ethnographic approach.

2.7 Links to Pragmatism

Rochberg-Halton (1982), argued that "qualitative immediacy" or "esthetic quality" is roughly the same thing as the subjective "I." Because American pragmatic social thought has been preoccupied by the immediacy of experience, or situating agency back in the domain of the subject, he points out, that critics suggest it has lost its ability (or interest) to recognize the broader and pervasive ways that objective structures condition the meaning of subjective experience (162-163). Yet Rochberg-Halton cites Peirce, a founder of American Pragmatism, as having argued for the mediated nature of internalized self-knowledge, such that qualitative immediacy should be understood as linked to external or broader categories of experience, not withheld from it (Peirce 1931-1950 (5): 213-357 in Rochberg-Halton 1982:163). The resolution of this community crisis rests in illuminating how these micro critiques, linked to broader systems of knowledge that govern the village space, have diverse impact on the self-transformative processes of transitioning homeless people. In other words, I will show that there is liminality, but I am asking the villagers to tell me how they can transcend this.

There is a sense following Gadamer (1989) that every act of interpretation, however mundane, or noble, is given to pragmatic critique. The problem I need to confront is really the assumption of uniformity, which most critical positions do by generalizing to a population similar circumstances of experiences. In other words, it is not reasonable to assume that critical attitudes can be generalized to all villagers simply because they are homeless, live in the same space or speak the same language. This reduction to a key antagonism between central ideas has been the goal of much of Western social critique. Similarly, it is very possible that a number of classical social critiques that preface structure over agency and vice versa, might find some unity in liminal space, since this is a world where neither structure nor agency are well-formed or understood by villagers in the same ways, Brad's decay into darkness is just one example of the contradiction.

What I am trying to do is understand the independent and the shared ways that villagers create ideas about the village, the city, laws and other socially constructed or empirical concepts that help to form their critical positions towards each other and towards political concerns. I am also trying to understand how the critiques of the village by other powers, the city, the press and so on, create certain conditions on the village that villagers must respond to in practical ways. I expected there to be a great deal of conformity in the village, based on a shared ideal of democratic participation before I began my work and what I found was diversity, conflict and a sort of institutionalized lack of cooperation. One might ask, "How can the village act united towards its political goals, when there is no longer a shared collective vision for the community as a political entity?" The length of time that the village has had to give evidence to the original critical displacement demonstrates in this case that the inversion of the critique happened

very early, and the symbol of the critique, the space, Dignity Village, is at risk of disappearing. Ibrahim speaks of an ideal – an ideal village; the one they designed in planning documents and mission statements back in 2001. This ideal, as we will discuss, seeds sustainable material culture with emancipated villagers able and willing to participate in democratic local government first, and then, but necessarily too, in fighting for the rights of other homeless people, as a way to be a thorn in the side of capital, to give the village bargaining *power*.

The village was envisioned as a community, but also as an act of protest. He and I and many others recognize that the village is not that place, nor the individuals living there, the capable citizen encoded in the founders' vision. The conversation we have had is underscored by a pragmatic concern to understand why it has missed the mark, and what can be done to resolve this. His transcript is a textual map, in a way, albeit somewhat embellished by my editorial coloring of what I see on the video as I transcribe it, of our creating knowledge in order to deal with - that is to explain and to seek out a path of action - in a difficult to comprehend reality with certain idealized outcomes at the end. As much as Ibrahim attempts to dress the events in the village in the language of freedom, autonomy and democracy, the situation he is asked to address is not emblematic of his ideal understanding of these values. That is the problem. The ideal is yet to come.

This knowledge creation is really educated guess work, based on trying to fit ideals and lived experience into the same tight container. This according to Peirce (1966) is indicative of a fundamentally pragmatic approach, where ideas create our experience of lived or environmental reality, rather than the opposite state of affairs, yet the linkage exists. In short, Ibrahim has described a number of logically opposed beliefs and

practices that describe well the confusion that researchers, villagers and other critics have when speaking of Dignity Village. Why then is the village so far off the mark? Is it that the idealism of a green, sustainable and democratic village sounded good, but was impossible? Is the village as good as it can get? Perhaps, it was because the idealism and the model of the village were so good and so powerful, that the city found ways to push back, to harness the upstarts and activists by imposing restrictive codes that the village could not reasonably meet. Perhaps also, the perpetual liminality that villagers claim to experience is what the city had hoped for all along. Perhaps even, it is this kind of diffused power, but power just the same, over the affairs of new camps that city governance seeks. They stand back, and do very little because there is a clause in the contracts that gives them ultimate word in the life and death of these places. Perhaps the democratic goals of *the activists* are not the ones being met by the critique of housing policy – they just want to believe that is the case. If the vision of the village encoded in the mission statement did not exist, what would we see today, and how might villagers perceive themselves differently? One of the pragmatic qualities of the PEOC is to understand the world if it functioned as villagers want to see it.

2.8 Ways of Seeing, Knowing

There are three ways of doing this. First, we can look at how the historical conditions that made the claim possible are wrapped up in its performance as part of an *ongoing critical displacement* to which subsequent critical sites are linked. Second, is to understand the structural constraints placed on the village as a city - regulated urban space *that we can discern*, such as by-laws and zoning documents, the contract and

various assessments. Third, we can join in the village as a participant in order to understand how village life under these known conditions is imagined and experienced by members, and by exposing the disjuncture between what is encoded and what is actual, we can find room to gauge critical capacity.

This provides anchoring points for PEOC: Foucault's (1991) genealogical critique of governmentality, understood here as the range of techniques employed by government to produce self-regulating subjects, and also as ideas about how space is created for resistance: and also pragmatic sociology of critique's recourse to manuals and texts as guides for justification. These approaches helps me to explain how it is that marginalized and poor citizens are governed by powerful discourse, even when they claim to have established self-governed community, a measure of their own self-empowerment; and second to account for how the village citizen comes to govern herself, a measure of which is her own critical attitude. The argument here is that the village is rationalized under neoliberal governance as a monitored space where homeless selves can reconstruct themselves. I speak to this in great detail in chapter six. In each of these dimensions, we can use a number of ethnographic techniques to understand and represent the ideas villagers use to guide practical action and to critique the world in which they live. These techniques include examining written documents and regulations, videographed participant observation, and fieldnotes. So we have established ethnography as a connection between discourses that tell us how to be, and pragmatic inquiry if only to expose the weakness of the former as a way to strengthen our understanding what actually happens on the ground.

While a lot of attention has been paid to social critique as ideology critique, or to matters of *social* justice, which want to unpack the world for a blinded actor, shielded from the bigger truth of her domination, I incorporate visually supported participant observation in an ethnographic method and theory in PEOC in order to show the tension between two levels of critical attitude: between mundane critique of daily life: and attitudes that are necessary to form attachments or to act in the name of the village's goals as an activist community. Villagers are not stupid. They are well versed in political rhetoric and they don't need someone to speak for them, even though they think they might. They know intellectually and pragmatically what the village needs to do in order to solidify its position vis a vis counter-critics of its mission. They either choose not to, or find their attempts muddled by faction fighting and low morale. We need to arrive at a sense of what villagers actually know, instead of assuming they don't know enough to act in politically critical manners such as the fight for a new village site or the plight of other homeless folks. Clearly what villagers do with the information they know is variable - a handful is active in external matters of social justice, most others cannot see beyond the gates. I imagine this has to do with the degree to which some villagers are still caught in survival mode and others emancipated from it. We will see.

Of course in trying to follow villagers' ideas, many other levels of association become salient, and a certain structure emerges that is always variable (tailored by happenstance) to the actor, but never solely reducible to her. There are objective, non-human elements, and structural implications caused by other actors in her world that impact her own structural possibilities. I have chosen to build out from the stories people tell in order to get a sense of their world. Conversations about one's life tend to establish

narratives that implicate their choices in constructing self-understanding over time. Furthermore the tendency of classical critique to reduce political and personal critical activity to a key criterion for action almost entirely trivializes the point of critique, which in order to speak to various issues of social justice, must understand diversity and complexity, or else we in fact simply replace one criterion over others.

Ibrahim's comments, my field experience, and this dissertation argue that while founding activists envisioned equalitarian democratic participation by fully engaged political village subjects, the exigencies of post-homelessness - self-governance limited this to a relatively better situation than the homelessness from which they emerged. The critique of the village we created in that discussion is based on the application of the somewhat dogmatic and naïve ideal (fully participant democracy and sustainability) to the practical reality (faction led, economic dependency), a situation that makes Derrida's rogue, quite visible. The village is still there, but going nowhere, nor its residents. It is caught in the liminality of an unfulfilled American dream, while other sites move ahead into the unknown.

2.9 Endemic Liminality

For Van Gennep (1908), looking at simple societies, rites of passage that governed social transformations, and movements though geographical territory were achieved though rituals and rites associated with such passage. There were three phases, a pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal. Turner focused on the liminal stage because he understood that this period of ambiguous roles and identities was of the greatest threat to societies regardless of complexity and that managing this liminal shift was an important job of various institutions, like school and religion and the home.

Recognition of the liminality of homelessness is due in part to the enormity of the problem. Since the 1980's a new kind of poverty hit the streets; mother's and children, young people, able bodied white collar workers cast aside by the economy, and every decade since, the percentage of first time homeless people, white collar deportees to limbo, and other categories of deserving poor, have contributed to the economically and socially destabilizing effects of having millions of people moving in and out of homelessness. Less concern was paid to the antecedent avatars of homelessness, the drunk men and women who lined laneways and begged on street corners because they were understood as tragic worst cases, collateral damage to be managed by local charity in a system that creates poverty, addiction and psychiatric patients just as it produces wealth (Marcuse 1983; Rossi 1989; Davis 1999; Bourgois and Schonberg 2008).

Urban symbolic systems have long recognized the streets and the shelters, other dark places; bridge underpasses, rail tunnels and so on, as the sleeping place for these people, and during the day street corners and park benches, subway benches and police cruisers, tend to dominate our expectations about where to see them (Ward 1979; Wright 1997; Mitchell 1999). A young mother with children, unemployed war veterans, abled bodied youth looking for work, these are not the ones we expected to see in these places or roles.

Homelessness is not caused by drugs, alcohol or mental illness; at least this is what we now understand. Homelessness after all is caused by rising levels of poverty, a retraction of long term care for addicts and patients, and a lack of affordable housing (NCH 2010; NAEH 2011; HUD – 'Opening Doors' 2012). In a current US context, where 47 million people live below the poverty and therefore close to homelessness, the 3 million or so who are literally homeless, constitute a base number, one that will rise, if

economies and governments don't shift how they go about business (NCH 2011; NAEH 2011).[14] With shelters and government housing filling up with the women and children of poverty, and with cities increasingly clamping down on homeless sleepers in parks, the usual places that the homeless once used are fewer and fewer, and less safe. They have had to form camps, something they had always done, but now more than before they are willing to fight for that right. Part of this fight comes from desperation. They have nowhere else to go. Part of this fight comes from the presence of sanctioned intentional homeless communities. Liminality is a threat, and a worry to capital and neoliberalism because of its unpredictability and the range of possible critical moments that it might give rise to. These camps are just beginning to be understood by the homeless, the state and researchers like me for the diverse potential they have for producing social critique.

It is a democratic right you understand, a testament to liberty and freedom to be able to form these camps and self-govern in poverty. It is a shame, really. Dignity Village was incorporated as a non-profit, and entered a legal arrangement with the city of Portland as a transitional housing camp. From the very moment they made the agreement, this was a community ordained by governance to manage liminality - hence its designation as an *emergency transitional camp*. There is a lesson here to help us understand how critical action is itself a liminal space, with no guarantees of outcome.

This excerpt from *Dignity in Exile* gives a basic introduction to how it works.

Dignity in Exile (2012:14-15 Brad Powell CEO (2010) and Eric Weissman

> Brad gave me a quick rundown of the political structure and the residency procedure. Essentially, the village operates as a smaller version of an elected, democratic legislative assembly. But it starts with a homeless person becoming a member of the village. Basically, there have been three eras in the village, defined by changes to the way membership was determined. In the beginning, and according to the original articles, persons wishing to join the village would sign up on a wait sheet. They were required to

check in every week to find out if a space in one of the structures or in the commons area was available. When a space became available, a hopeful member would be ascribed the status of *guest*. After fulfilling their sweat equity requirement for 30 days, they could, after another 14 days, ask to be a *member* and that was it. In fact, people were expected to become members, but it hadn't been enforced. Membership was important to the design of the political structure. Membership came with the right and duty to vote on village business, and gave a resident the right to run for council. Council was supposed to have 22 seats, but only rarely have all these seats been filled. Hence, the village has not really been running like a real democracy, and the interests of only a few members who are successful in bids for leadership positions get served. This was the kind of political turmoil that Brad was speaking to. Cliques and favoritism were starting to be more important than rules and points of order, though Brad never spoke directly to this.

A few years ago, for reasons that no one has been able to explain, the village leadership managed to push through an amendment that required hopeful members to pass through an election, a confirmation of sorts, by other members after the residency period. The Village Intake Committee, that had always invigilated the entrance of new guests to the village, then became a supremely important organ of the system. Instead of "asking and receiving" member status, the committee and the other members were given power to determine a guest's status.

Fig. 9. Brad Powell. June 2010 Greenhouse Construction. (E. Weissman). (Video from first visit: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHaFa8w430g)

Faced with the possibility of rejection, many villagers were putting in a minor effort, fulfilling only basic sweat equity requirements because they understood that their destiny was based on the whims of VIC members and not on the merit of their performance. A lack of confidence was stewing in the community based on a lack of faith in the leadership, loopholes in the sweat equity model, and a community-wide doubt about the sensibility of making a long-term moral or political commitment to the community.

I was terribly confused by this, so Brad explained to me that, as a result, not everyone who had a housing structure was a member. In 2010, under the revised

membership system, many residents had opted out, and participation on the council and in vital mandatory members meetings, where decisions were made, dropped off to the point where decisions could not be made. Instead of a politically motivated activist community, the village was becoming a housing project where mere shelter had become more important than engagement in processes that protected and helped the community evolve. Even the five basic rules that were posted in several locations around the village had become impossible to enforce.

"We have five basic rules. The first rule is no violence to yourselves or others. The second one is no theft. Those two we have zero tolerance on. If you get in a fight, the first person to throw a punch, it's an automatic ejection (an '86'). We have other rules we go by – no drugs or alcohol within a one-block area of the village."

I had only been there for a few hours at that point and I had seen empty beer bottles and I smelled marijuana. In fact, in ten years working on the streets for my film, it seemed to me that pot and drink were fundamental to the lifestyle. Almost everyone I had met denied it at first of course, but in short order they'd been open about it. With drugs and alcohol arguably the two largest leisure industries in the world, it seemed almost unreasonable to restrict their use here in the village. "So no drugs, even in your own structure?" I asked. "Well, we can't monitor that because we don't search at the gate. You know people have rights. And that's one of their rights here in the United States of America, the privacy of one's home."

Fig. 10. The Finished Greenhouse, August 2010. (N. Dickson, 2011).

Liminality is built into the village then by the ambiguity that attaches to the process and procedures for its internal governance. The village is governed by its own democratically elected council, but the rules and codes it follows are city sanctioned, and they specify literally to the inch how the community must be structured, and they specify

to the letter what can and cannot go on in the village - and the documents that "legalize" the community give the city supreme and sovereign say over the village. The village is self-governing, meaning they choose from a number of sanctioned codes which to apply or not and are responsible to manage village affairs. This means to *administer the choices* they made and signed into agreement with the city. This is what they call self-government. And individuals in the village choose in turn, which of those laws to abide.

As I noted, in the first few hours in the village, it had seemed to me that villagers did whatever they could get away with rather than work towards adhering to rules. The following year, when I resided there, I noted dozens of infractions, sometimes-violent ones where people threatened or were emotionally abusive to others; there was even a brutal case of domestic abuse where Laura had pounded the daylights out of Dave, her partner. Neither of them was punished. Later you will read of Jay who has been exiled to a culvert under the county road. He fell down drunk and was accused of assaulting a woman *as he fell*, and was exiled for life from the village. It is this kind of complete irregularity that the village produces, which had many of its critics questioning the ability of the village to self-govern, and as I stated above, had residents completely mystified about how to interpret rules. These stories about misconduct make it to the outside world through gossip, by disgruntled ex-villagers telling stories to social workers and cops, and these negative appraisals enter the "buzz" on the streets and council chambers about what is going on out there at the village.

The liminality of the village is also partly and importantly a spatial concern. It was purposely placed as far away from the city center, a core of social services and other homeless networks that the villagers need, because the businesses in downtown Portland

wouldn't stand for it anywhere else, and also as a demonstration by the city that it had control over upstarts and indigents. The villagers are marginalized by distance in the geographical and the social sense from a world that could help them to find work or homes. It becomes virtually everything, *an island of misfit toys* as Mitch Grubic and Dave Samson, both village council members, have said repeatedly. So the liminality of the village is perpetual. People rarely transit from it into homes or to jobs. These post-liminal roles just don't exist in great numbers anymore, and certainly not for misfits. If the village did not exist, where would these people be? - On the streets or lined up for shelters. So the village for all its faults is a better state of affairs for homeless people. Now, it is important to know that most of these camps are like this. None of them are run smoothly or without incident. I am not doing a comparative management study. I am looking at how Dignity Village opened a certain critical space for other communities like it, and I am suggesting the critique of housing doesn't fail because Dignity might fail, but lives on in these new manifestations as part of the critical displacement *over time*.

2.10 Critical Time and Emancipation

It takes time to fully understand what happens in instances where critique displaces power. Larsen (2011) says that this temporal component is necessary because we can only gauge what happens to successful critical ideas as they produce new power relations in the course of that transformative process and this is of course a matter of time. In a sense, all critical action inheres a liminal phase, but in the presence of goals and criteria of justification, it is possible to see the success or demise at a certain point by bringing the test of criteria into our observations. These tests and criteria are not fully developed

or expressed in liminal spaces, so we have a hard time understanding them in terms of success or failure. So criterion-based critique is difficult since the criterion can never be fully expressed (such as democracy or freedom) and hence is predisposed to fail. This is why I am trying to develop a way of looking at understanding the diversity of understandings that liminality produces, as an expression of the degrees to which various criteria are immanent in liminal actors. People in the village rarely agree with one another over solutions to the village's administrative or public image problems. Even though they tend to share affinity towards the "American Dream," they dispute legitimate means to arrive there. They argue over what real emancipation and freedom means, a debate that is the reason we have the village today.

In this case, a bit more specifically, in 2001, when 8 activist homeless campers filed under Oregon law for status as 501(c)(3) non-profit, Dignity Village Oregon became the first city sanctioned emergency transitional homeless camp in the US. It has always been controversial, itself the product of a critical separation between the activists who founded it. The original divide was between two elements of the "Out of the Doorways Campaign" as it had come to be known. The first group under the name, The Housing Liberation Front (HLF) would not compromise with the city - they wanted their own land on which to govern themselves without any interference from the city - they rejected capital and wished to reclaim a right to the city. A larger group from the same bank of activists, "Camp Dignity" exhausted by the struggle, having moved from occupation to occupation seven times in a year, established themselves under Portland's Fremont Bridge and accepted a city-regulated compromise for temporary use of city-owned land on the outskirts of town. Where the more radical faction envisioned a way to

opt out of the system by fighting for the right to its own land, as a rejection of neoliberalism's core values, Dignity Village began as a democratically self-governed transitional housing community, tenants of the city, as a means to giving the homeless the same rights and access to prosperity as other citizens. These were two very different views on what emancipation from street poverty meant.

Scott Beck suggests:

> Emancipation eludes definition, and its very meaning will differ significantly from individual to individual and from culture to culture. Out of this ambiguity we might posit two alternate visions of emancipation: emancipation as inclusion, where the oppressed individual or group acquires equal rights of participation in the existing social or political structure, and emancipation as revolution, or the wholesale eradication of the existing social structure, with the assumption that that very social structure itself is both the cause of oppression and beyond reform. (Accessed June 5, 2013).

In the latter, critique wants to lead to an entirely new way of organizing personal relationships or social life so that perceptions of the conditions of exploitation or domination that created an issue of justice are eradicated. In the HLF case, a normative vision of a just way is imposed on extant relations and the critique is towards a new totality; ownership of their own land, no contracts and sustainable community and cooperative self-government for people denied both. In the former, critique seeks a better piece of the pie for the claimant without changing the ingredients – the normative evaluation of the system doesn't change but people's access to power within it is enhanced – shelter, a safe community and a say in village affairs and a chance to get back in the game of being a citizen. The critique is about the right to participate in an extant system, not to change the system, so contracted inequality is okay so long as inequality makes everyone's life relatively better than if it did not exist (Rawls 1971).

After six years of proving itself compliant, in 2007, the city handed down its first official contract to Dignity Village firmly setting out the condition by which their tenancy was sanctionable. The village was pitched to the city as a utopian, green, sustainable and democratically self-governed non-profit community as a critique of Portland's treatment of the homeless. The articles of incorporation, the mission statement and other documents we will read clearly spell out these utopian goals and also the compromises included in the agreements with the city that rendered this impossible, a compromise that has created this case of perpetual liminality, in the added sense that the villager now lives in a world that is betwixt and between the ideals set out in the mission statement and by-laws, and the realities of living in poverty. Villagers each share a similar inability to know where they are headed, and if they have goals, don't know how to achieve them in practical terms.

Self-transformative political subjects are often seen as vital to critical action (Foucault 1991, 1984; Archer 2003; Shragge 2003; Boltanski and Thévenot 2006; Mosher 2010). The emphasis is on an actor who can transcend the micro critiques of daily life and engage in deliberations with issues of emancipatory justice of a greater scale and in the process *become* a political being. Very simply put; we have styles of critique that see a dominated actor in need of emancipatory knowledge - the truth - in order to be powerful or those that see power as truth, and so actors are inherently critical, and their collective action is part of the regulatory needs of structure. Dignity Village does not fall easily into the purview of either category. It is relatively easier to explain the emergence of Dignity Village through an approach that unites aspects of several approaches. That enterprise is part of this dissertation. I do this to show how liminality

was engineered into the village to limit its critical capacity as part of the way power displacements are mutually constitutive. In this case the activists made a case and pushed, the city made a case and pushed back, and the result in this case was a village that has become liminal by not pushing anymore, but this incapacity occurred over time, and therefore was immanent in the compromise. So what kind of critique does the village produce now and what is its current or future capacity? As a village model highly scrutinized and failing at many levels to live up to its mission statement and promises, that is suspended in liminality, regaining critical capacity is vital to its longevity, and helping villagers go beyond limbo.

Intentional communities, which are starting to gain more support in various cities, are becoming relevant because Dignity Village has proven it can manage the liminality of homelessness for over a decade, at less than $2.34/person per day. *Manage* in this sense is being kind. The village has 56 people in 49 structures on a one-acre plot of asphalt tarmac. Estimates by my informants and my own observations, place the drug epidemic, mostly meth, at over 70 per cent, but we will read of the many horrors of that place. It is better than the streets, but it is not satisfactory, not by a long shot, and with this I find myself agreeing with Portland's conservative critics some of whom I met, mostly religious types, retired soldiers who made it big in resources and real estate, and who come by the village in their Cadillac's and Lincolns to hand out meals every Thursday. That I find myself sharing *their* criticism of the village worries me.

2.11 Summary

Neoliberal governance has found an alternative place for the worst case homeless and it is no longer the streets, or the shelters, and certainly not decent affordable housing; it's these camps. While cities are doing more now for the new poor, and even though the state is spending more on housing, the numbers of first time homelessness continue to rise. And so does the number of camps. Dignity Villagers made an unofficial count of homeless tent camps on the West Coast, those that are recognized and have names, are fighting for rights, and might get them. There are 55 official sites from San Luis Obispo in California to the south, to Seattle to the north. And these do not include the hundreds of temporary camps, the unorganized ones and the ones that are popping up as I write this and as you read it.

As such these places and the uncounted number of others (but every major city has them) scattered across the States, have entered a critique of housing and poverty that is four hundred years old in the US. It started with the importation of Elizabethan Poor Laws into the colonies in 1601 and it currently sets these intentional community models into the Obama administration's Opening Doors campaign that stresses Ten Year Plans to End Homelessness amongst the number of cities who compete for federal housing money, which is close to 300 by now (HUD 2012). Dignity Village and other places like it are not in the language of these plans, even though cities are "experimenting" with them. Yet, because they manage a liminal population of homelessness, I consider them to be a part of what Leginski (2007) has called the de facto US housing service sector – a system of often unconnected (or with unrecognized connections perhaps to state it better) and redundant services that govern homelessness across the US.

Insomuch as the critical action of Dignity activists was an attempt to resolve the immediate need for shelter, it had been successful. However, its larger address to help people return to meaningful conventional roles, and futher the rights of the homeless all over Oregon, called for the community to be an activist site, one that pursued and engaged networking with other activist branches and the homeless. They understood without parsing it, that power is relational and needs to be kept up by critical social action. The village is currently learning that "you never know what power you had until someone tries to take it away" (anon). The city's plan worked well. Isolated to the margins and wrapped up in the exigencies of poverty, the villagers expend their critical capacity towards one another, or to getting though the day, and are exhausted just by imagining what getting involved in other people's issues of justice might be. They fight, but amongst themselves, and the village is in disarray. Note the following FB message (spelling intact) from Dave Samson, my key "informant." And now friend from the village:

December 13, 2011: [Sic] "… just gettin up and havin some coffee. getting things done in a habitual manner is the key to all things for me so i shall start with coffee i do it every morning so why not take the time to send a few text while i am at it !! sounds right!. mmmmmmmmm coffee ! any way things here on the island seem rocky and the beach smells bad lol. i love the way the ice crystals covering all the broken things shine! . i think that morning is the best time for me to focus and write before my head fills up with the days crap . i will be sending you some nice island in winter pics. its a different place in winter the vibe is very low . the frozen moral hangs off every house like a sickness striped of summers brite colors. the walking dead suddenly seem like what they are in clear sharp contrast . the portalets reek of last nights self medication like a john in a bar . the islanders stumbling around in recovery from there own filth and decay .complaining of things they carry with them . but unwilling to drop the load as if it where some valued commodity. clinging to there broken luck as if it will bring them warmth . lending hard looks at any one that dare look happy . as if the happy where some disease the needs to be eradicated. and running from the truth like birds from cats . my inner voice screeming drop the load and be free ! but they can not hear . to focused on the baggage to hear any thing but the song of misery the emanates from there own actions. i think making the switch to writing seems hard but the further i go in that direction the more it seems the

best path . art just dos not convey the richness of thought that seems to fill my head .imagery seems to be taking a back seat to all other thoughts . not that i don't get lots of really beautiful pics in the head but they just don't seem to answer any of the really strong impulses . but the idea of starting from scratch and remaking my self leaves me feeling a little intimidated OK a lot intimidated !!! lol . but i have just got to know what i have been hiding in my shadow (a line from the tool song 46+2 about transformation) things have been going well on the stay sober front. i am going to quit smoking as well . i had a dream that the time for that is at an end . and i am going to start to listen to my self more seriously . learning how to trust my self .is some thing that i have all ways had a little trouble with ! . you are the closest thing to a strong and guiding brother that i have ever had so forgive me if my lack of faith in my self seems harsh or that it seems i don't believe you . this will take some time but hey i have got lots of that lol. peace for now . your bro all ways.. dave…"

(I noted afterwards): 'It's a dream, some "*Cuckoo's Nest"* of a horror show. I left the village earlier than I wanted because watching the people there medicate and do nothing, caught in limbo day after day – bitching and complaining, debating each other at every turn was suffocating and unhealthy for me. I could see the big picture, they could see the big picture, but they were wrapped tight. Tight into each other's shit, thinking small. No escape. Poor Dave, I want him to get out of there. I want him to find his way. It should be possible.'

This dissertation is a part of my attempt to critically understand what the conditions of this possibility look like. In order to understand how I look at these conditions, the next chapter explains how I understand the mechanics of pragmatic ethnography of critique.

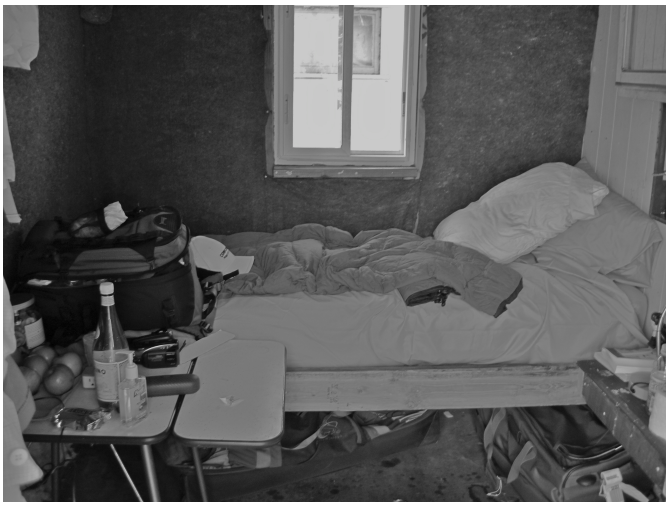


Fig. 11. Interior of my "dorm." All new guests spend early days in a 6 X 8 shack like this until they get a structure of their own. (E. Weissman June 2011).

Endnotes - Chapter Two: Pages 35-94.

[1] For EID- www.oregon.gov/oprd/HCD/PROGRAMS/docs/OMSC_2011_EID-BID.pdf
Ecodistricts-
sustainablebusinessoregon.com/articles/2010/04/portland_group_proposes_eco-districts_plan.html
BID
oregonlive.com/opinion/index.ssf/2010/06/portlands_business_improvement.html

[2] Discussed at length in the next chapter, but essentially a destabilization of ethnographic truth.

[3] Modern space in Lefebvre's account of it is socially created, but it still inheres an idea that space is in the first sense, natural, a vector or a "substance" after all, in which or onto which places are located, if not defined by the social relations which create them. Edward Casey (in Feld, S and K. Basso eds. 1996:15-18) suggests that space appears to have an a priori status over "place". In looking at space, then, as a category of matter, as a mathematical template for the possibility of human action, analysis of the social relations or the life histories which unfold in it, can only be explained as a result of the way that space is organized prior to the entry of the individual. Where is the room for the person or the artefact produced by the individual to impart meaning onto the space in the moment that is being observed? Where is the possibility of ethnography if everything is reduced to structural determinants and hegemonic values? As Casey writes, "Even such an [phenomenological] approach is not without its own prejudicial commitments and ethnographic stances, it is an approach that in its devotion to concrete description has the advantage of honouring the actual experience of those who practice it (Casey 1996:16).

[4] It is tempting to refer to Dignity Village as governed by a form of Indirect Rule, whereby the community is permitted to exist as long as it meets certain basic requirements of more powerful governance. The argument is that the state determines laws, and regulates community life when it deems it necessary. Often in the past this has been done through military or police force. Indirect rule also implies a totalizing or centralized state that withholds its rule over pre-existing but cooperative communities, in which traditions and customary social relations are permitted within the guidelines set out by state agenda (Brundt 2004). Indirect rule therefore suggests unilateral power enforced by coercion, and domination over pre-existing communities. This is not he case of Dignity Village.

[5] One might surmise that the decision was due in part to the influence of BIDS and residents of Portland's redeveloping city core. From the very moment villagers moved to the outskirts of Portland to take up residence, the city had established that such manifestations or places of poverty were to be considered marginal to the core values of

home and land use. Marginality has a place under neoliberalism, and "troubled" communities are to be avoided.

[6] Bevir says: A hostility to the subject runs throughout Foucault's oeuvre. Indeed, he himself said, "it is not power, but the subject, which is the general theme of my research"; and he described as his main aim the attempt "to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects," and so to efface the idea of the self-constituting subject""(1999:65)

[7] Durkheim (1893) refers to organic and mechanical solidarity as two forms of maintaining social and moral order in society. Mechanical solidarity suggests a small tightly knit group where intermediate rituals and institutions are not required for establishing moral and social ties between individuals, but exist as a conformation of known and understood values, expressed in the "collective conscious." I will address this later in my discussion on liminality. Organic solidarity is said to operate in large social systems where the divergent life choices and roles of members leads them away from this common experience. Operating through shared symbolic, ritual and other meaningful institutions the collective consciousness amongst members is more difficult to understand. Laws, routines policies and administration of law become the material of organic solidarity, as nerves are to the body. Tent City and Dignity Village are examples of small communities and imply the effectiveness of the former, but ethnography demonstrates that the links of members from this community to an external collective consciousness disrupts any mechanical solidarity that might exist. I discuss this further in my conclusions and in my discussions on Van Gennep. But it is this observation that has steered me away from framing my analysis in a purely Durkheimian lens.

[8] They would argue that all cultures develop categories of the safe and unsafe, the known and ambiguous, and also they create spaces where ritual or routinized processes for transiting individuals through these psychic and actual conditions can take place with few repercussions for the rest of the group. Holy ground, temples, churches, shamans' quarters, and perhaps in industrialized places, doctors' offices, therapists' couches and community centres, might be such locations or places. For Van Gennep and other important scholars of his time, notably the Durkheimians*, such rites not only organized and aligned individuals on the basis of role, occupation, age sex and the like, they tended to alleviate the fundamental problem for societies to maintain solidarity. Van Gennep and the Durkheimians debated heatedly over the relationship between social institutions, such as totemism, and culture, the former insisting that institutions evolved and outgrew their culture, the latter arguing that cultures outgrew their institutions. Yet they shared a basic understanding that defining particular rites with the same systemic role but enacted differently, is understood as the basis for differentiating groups, and individuals based on "culture." In this sense, we can find ways to conceptualize groups within groups that try to achieve similar ends whatever they might be, but in different liminal modes; achieving communion with God and peace of mind by opting out of conventional city life versus working hard, saving money and buying a large home; building a tent camp instead of residing in shelters or friends' homes. Beyond this objectifying value, the spatial

deployment of rites is what leads us to an understanding of the liminal process as a universal space for the passage of individuals from one state to another within "simple" cultures. States of mind are accompanied often by spatial transitions, or at least the performance of the ritual in spaces and time. Even spatial norms are the subject of ritualization.

[9] This by no means suggests that they are acceptable to everyone. In liberal democracy opposition is often defeated.

[10] HLF is discussed in chapter six as the ancestor of Dignity Village.

[11] 2869 people per night as of January 2013. Numbers rise in summer months, (Smock 2013)

[12] There is also the very real somatic drive that "coming down" or "getting high" creates. I discuss this at some length in chapter seven but addicts, and I was one, rarely care about anything but resolving those two parts of the disease. The village we are looking at has had a drug problem for some years, but during this fieldwork, and as currently as June 2013, villagers estimate as many as 60% of the village is hooked on meth amphetamine. This epidemic addiction undermines any broader community commitments that might come up because of the way it creates social patterns of dependency and domination between suppliers and users. Every community has its valued commodities. In the city, it is prime real estate, health and currency; in the village, as of late, it has come to be drugs. Even if villagers have opinions about social justice issues within the village, or which extend to broader inequalities, they are unlikely to activate toward them while "using."

[13] Derrida had argued that democracy, understood as rule by the people, requires sovereignty; without it the demos is usurped by other power, and effective democratic rule can not be achieved. Furthermore, he argued that freedom and equality which provide essential claims to citizens claiming democracy, but which contradict each other by suggesting sameness, and the right to be different at the same time. As such liberty must mean liberty for each citizen, which once again is a contradiction inherent to democracy.

[14] As reported on Bill Maher February 22, 2013.

Chapter Three: Pragmatic Ethnography of Critique Undressed

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, first I briefly define what I mean by ethnography. I move beyond anthropology to embrace this approach as an interdisciplinary concept. I move very quickly to explain various crises over representation and how these have led to a hybridization and massive broadening of what we now include as ethnography. I understand the current world we live in as replete with social problems and that ethnography is a powerful range of ideas and tools for articulating struggle and solutions. I am practical that way. The last thing I want to be is merely descriptive. In my monograph, *Dignity in Exile,* I spent considerably more time describing the village in terms of things we see: structures, people, economy, cliques, and rituals. The attention I want to give here is askew of that traditional descriptive, "writing culture" approach. I am writing critique, if you will grant me that leeway. And so then, I look at how ethnography is invested with a critical purpose simply because inquiry is a critical attitude towards a topic.

I discuss the critical turn of the 1980's as a way to enter what Denzin called the 8th moment of qualitative inquiry – a period of messy and open-minded texts and forms of representation open to diversity and social justice. I explain that later. Then I discuss how my approach has ties or roots in critical ethnographic traditions. I see social justice equally as an issue for Marxists and capitalists, and that each way of seeing and doing presents tensions for the possibility of justice. That being said, *critical ethnography* has roots in Marxist critical theory and rests on revealing hidden systems of symbolic and ideological domination. It was implicitly what I thought as I looked around the village at

all the American flags, and the t-shirts with "ARMY" and "National Guard" printed on them. How does one stay loyal to a society and a federal polity that has all but abandoned them? Perhaps it would be wiser to ask how it is that a state that has abandoned the poor, still manufactures their loyalty? This is the kind of critical understanding that this approach has traditionally sought. The importance of this form of ethnography rests in the way it attaches itself to the critical movement of actors as a part of their deliberative and critical processes, rather than looking in from the outside, and writing what is observed. A danger is that new information can be divisive to struggling communities and movements because it is part of the mediations that actors and networks (for Monsieur Latour) have to experience, and as essentially deconstructionist, it often leads to a betrayal of accepted realities. In due course I critique these roots, but in opening up reality to interrogation by participants in fieldwork, PEOC is a critical form of the ethnography, even if the goal is not a massive socially transformative, but a practical one.

PEOC is also essentially reflexive, utilizing the researcher as a part of the knowledge making process, and tries in every way to use methods that open up the constructed nature of fieldwork and deliberations to an answerability to a greater authority in the reader, whoever it might be. For this dissertation I rely on video as a means to record and study fieldwork, and also the transcripts are based on it. Some of this video is included, as web links. However, though I discuss the ethical and moral implications of doing visual work in the field, in this and the next chapter, video is explored for its ability to extend ethnographic presence, and to keep an enduring connection with the displacing effect of critique over time. I explain this too.

A very important aspect of my research is based on the difficulty of representing experiences that have passed as if they were still valid in the way they were understood at that time. So I discuss Bakhtin and the act of investigation in the context of video and other methods for doing research that link directly to originating moments. Also, I am not resident in the village, but my research in the village is an ongoing process, and as I mentioned in the introduction, it is the kind of research we have done together digitally that has kept the act alive. Of course once this is written and submitted, a certain finality will be imposed. Lastly I explore the union between forms of philosophical pragmatism and the ethnographic method in order to produce an ideal vision of pragmatic ethnography of critique. At the end of this chapter I argue that PEOC requires clearly understanding how I arrived at this disposition towards critique, as a way of contextualizing the role I play as a resource amongst this particular group of collaborators. Having argued for the ethnographer in the 8th moment to be a sort of critical community organizer, in chapter four I offer a very in depth auto-historical account of how I came to do this work and how this experience is a resource for me.

3.2 Ethnographer as Organizer

In particular, I am arguing here that participant observation as part of a critical ethnographic approach to understanding communities like the village becomes part of the critique in which the village is a part, and ethnographic text or films, products, must be represented as such and explored as vehicles for ongoing and critical engagement with communities. This is so because these bundled packages of ideas are repatriated to participants in my pragmatic ethnography, as a means of eliciting a continuous

understanding of how accurately they are perceived, what new ideas or arguments they produce, and how they might be taken as advice or criticism. Events or ideas that occurred two or three years ago in the field can be revisited in order to understand the pragmatic implications of life events, personal transformative experiences and other unpredictable experience. Furthermore, villagers ask those of us who have studied the village in a serious manner to participate as external advisors during board meetings, impeachment proceedings and other procedural matters, because we, unlike the village newcomer and most of the membership, have actually studied the laws and rules. So Boltanski (2011) who had cautioned against researchers' assuming a superior place of knowing, is not really correct in the sense that there are times in which the researcher does have a certain expertise that transcends the experience of those we study. This suggests that the ethnographer has an important role as one of the critical actors, and that this role has very specific ethical and practical implications.

Rapport (2010: 79-85) establishes various ways that "ethnography can also 'right' social reality. A new ethnography can set itself up in a critical position to the living that preceded it." For Rapport and others who speak of the ethnographic self as a resource in fieldwork, ethnography then, is at some level, a critical activity which amounts to an ethical position (Sanjek 1991; Ricoeur 1996; Coffey 1999; Collins 2002; Rapport 2002; Collins and Gallinat 2010; Weissman 2012; Rapport 2010). This does not imply a superior position relative to those participants with whom we work; our goal is precisely to limit this sense of superiority through critical and reflexive means. The ethnography reveals how power works, where domination is taking place, and suggests critical actions

to mobilize and protect the rights of the community, but it constructs this awareness as much as possible as witness to villagers' pragmatic considerations.

There is no pretense that this PEOC is objective or universally valid. Very specific qualities of the researcher, the participants and the shifting social and political contexts of the fieldwork, contribute to the moral call for change produced by this research, and to also, the internal divisions that contested knowledge creates in the village. There is no way to ensure that such knowledge will be used wisely, or that it will have the emancipating affect that participants had addressed as general concerns for the community. It is risky to do this kind of work. Participants fight with each other and me over ideas, goals and strategies. Some of the information reveals major flaws and weaknesses in the system, and there seems to be no solution. This is further demoralizing for the community. As an attachment to the process by which the community as a form of critique emerges, this research remains open, and I am accessible to the villagers. Long after the fieldwork *in situ* had ended, the role of ethnographer and advisor has continued. I elaborate on how these risks and the extension of an ethnographic presence is part of my critical position, and helps one to understand how critical actions and social critiques change and shift with time. First, let me in due diligence offer a basic explanation of how I understand the ethnographic aspects of this approach.

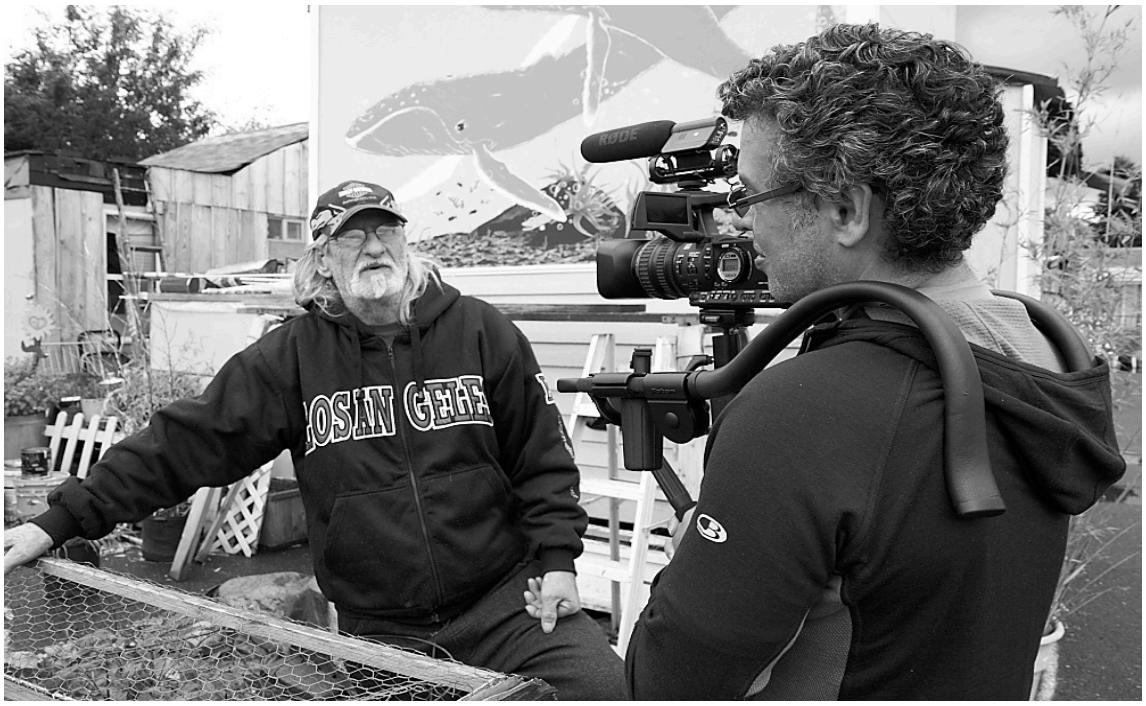


Fig. 12. Working With Dave Sullivan, member in July 2011. (N. Dickson).

3.3 Ethnographic Roots to Post-Structural, Post-Critical, PEOC

Ethnography, from the Greek, *ethnos*, and *graphos*, quite literally, means *writing people*, or later, as, "writing culture." Ethnography refers to a systematic analysis of people and customs, usually presented in a written text (Merriam Webster Dictionary 2011). Ruby (1975) commented that ethnographic films are types of anthropological text; informed by anthropological concepts and theories, using the lexicon of anthropology and they further the interpretation of anthropological interests like culture and ritual. These statements were designed to clarify that not all films about culture were ethnographic in the sense that they might not have been inscribed by anthropologists in the aforementioned ways. Hence, by way of illustration, this observation underscores the particular attention paid by anthropologists to the rigorous application of anthropological methods and inclinations in any style of observation that claims to be ethnographic.

Likewise I would suggest that since ethnographic methods cross academic boundaries, as long as the work informs or is informed by legitimate social inquiry, which derives information from people and their experience, it is to be considered ethnographic. Even if one might argue all texts and all image systems contain information of ethnographic value that does not make the project to which they are attached inherently ethnographic. Hollywood films and popular novels are often about cultures or people. For something to be ethnographic, it must explicitly have the goal of critically examining culture or elements of social life where that examination is the subject, and the point of the work. I am cautioned and reassured by Atkinson et al, who in the introduction to the *Handbook of Ethnography* (2009) state, "We ourselves have been suspicious of various attempts to tidy up the history of ethnographic research either through the imposition of 'traditions' or through the construction of historical schemas and periodizations"(1). Affirming "broad family resemblances," the editors also provide that social and cultural anthropologists tend to define their work from other social sciences on the centrality of ethnography (2). Unlike other social sciences where the field might be a lab or an archive, most anthropologists do their work in the field, even though this field is increasingly comprehended as closer to home (Strathern 1987; Hastrup 1992; Oakley 1992; Bourgois 1995; Fabian 2001; Pink 2001; Rapport 2006; Gallinat and Collins 2010).

While anthropologists at times claim exclusivity to ethnography because of this long standing commitment to fieldwork, the editors also argue rightly that this can at least not currently be said to be true. As it regards homelessness and poverty especially, social sciences have been committed to fieldwork and ethnographic understanding at

least since Nels Andersen first entered a masters program at the University of Chicago (1920). Urban and community sociology therefore have enjoyed almost a century of persistent and meaningful ethnographic research, and it would seem that if any encroachment has been broached, it would be that anthropology's newfound fascination with our own urban cultures has led to an imbrication of its research foci and techniques within the distinct foci of other disciplines; sociology with cities and states, and geography with urban spaces and landscapes. My inter-disciplinary work unites all these disciplines with an ethnographic approach. I am not going to enter the debate about what separates anthropology and sociology, nor any other of the social sciences, other than to say that despite what might have been divergent core methods and foci, ethnography is now shared widely as a necessary expressive tool and range of methods for understanding the people who reside at the heart of core issues of social justice. The old proviso of Ruby and other anthropologists, much to their dismay needs to be reiterated, perhaps as: *ethnography is the production of representations about culture and society as they come to be experienced by any researchers' dedicated and reasonable efforts in various lived fields of experience*; perhaps. From the enormous range of possibilities this broad categorization offers I present a PEOC as the means of adjoining social sciences with a means to know how actors create attachment to matters of social justice.

Denzin and Lincoln (2009) begin their discussion of qualitative methods by quoting Smith (1999) who astutely points out that "research" is one of the dirtiest words in the vocabulary of the indigenous peoples. Since the early days of Cort-Haddon[1], Morgan,[2] Malinowski,[3] even Anderson[4], research has been a sort of technique for staking the colonial or state position vis a vis "different" and manageable others (2009:1).

Research was a way of expanding the academic appreciation of culture, but so too was it the scientific basis of racist and expansionist development programs based on the presentation of relatively underdeveloped nature of *lesser* peoples. For urban sociology, fieldwork, including surveys and numbers taking, as well as journals and written analyses, became essential for helping cities and governments identify social problems and to gauge the measure or responses they required (Park 1915; Anderson 1923; Hughes 1952; Bahr 1973; Gans 1991).

By way of addressing definitional issues, Denzin and Lincoln use the term *qualitative research* to include; observation, interviewing participation and ethnography, and to describe it as a "field of inquiry in its own right" one that "crosscuts disciplines, fields and subject matters" (1994:2). For my own purposes, the former three elements are integral parts of the latter. The intersection of these techniques within the complex interrelation between traditions identified as foundational, positivist, neo-positivist, post-structural, cultural studies and critical perspectives, are what create the "somewhat artificial" basis for their eight historical moments of qualitative research.

These moments are defined as, the *traditional*[5] (1900-1950), the *modernist* or golden age[6], (1950-70); *blurred genres* (1970-1986); *the crisis of representation* (1986-1990)[7]; the *post-modern*, a period of experimental and new ethnographies, (1990-1995); *post-experimental inquiry* (1995-2000); the *methodologically contested present* (2000-2004); and the *fractured future* (2005 – now)" (3). Of these, it is with the last I am most concerned, but understanding its roots in the critical turn is important.

The well-known *Crisis of Representation stage* occurred in the 1980's, and is generally subsumed between the covers of Clifford and Marcus' 1986, *Writing Culture*.

This fourth period, is marked by the deliberation of truth. Gender, age, ethnicity, class are once again reunited with critiques of knowledge construction and the production of ever evasive productions of truth (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 17-18). The suggestion that writing and doing fieldwork provide a gap in the representation of experienced realities very much lies at the heart of the problematizations facing ethnography today and which were revealed in this period. Since the mid - 1980's a variety of experimental written forms of ethnography have emerged. Sometimes defined as *messy texts*, these forms are always incomplete, self-reflexive and resistant to totalizing theories (Denzin 1997:245; also - Law 2004; Lather 2004; Foley 2002; Strathern 1991). Even within this experimental period that also opened the door broader acceptance of ethnographic filmmaking, debates over the ethics and limits of representation remained.

With the linguistic and cultural turn of the 1970's and 80's, social theory remerges as a tool to understanding the by then widely held view of an essentially socially constructed nature of social life and culture (Berger and Luhmann 1966; Giddens 1973; Foucault 1977; Bourdieu 1977; Clifford and Marcus 1986). However, under the scrutiny of a post-modern gaze, all theory and representation becomes suspect and debates rather than convergences come to dominate the social sciences, including anthropology and sociology (Fabian 1983; Sanjek 1990; Denzin; 1994; Boltanski and Chiapello 2005; Turner 2008; Drache 2008; Isin 2008).

Since the "turn" of the 1980's, ethnography has enjoyed a sort of renaissance because they no longer have to be "true." Ethnographic accounts no matter how derived are recognized for the fictional qualities they possess and also for the recognition, that the true authority is not the "subject" nor the author, but the reader, which suggests, that

ultimately all truth is of a second, or a third hand nature. Hence, the likelihood of deriving good information from ever reterritorialized fields increases into the 21st century; the rise of the hypermedia, virtual, electronically interconnected global communities we live in suggests that presence is no longer about being in a place, since places impose themselves on us, through information, news, phone calls, text and data messages, regardless of where we are in a physical sense. Fieldwork increasingly is becoming a part of the ethnographic project, and not its definition.[8] On-line communities provide a great example of how the ethnographer's presence is now reconstructed to include virtual and actual presence; one might argue that it is impossible to be in two places at once, but the deployment of ethnography into studies of online communities would suggest otherwise (Pink 2007; Ruby et al 2011; Bowler Jr. 2010). The "turn" has also suggested that in a sense, we have always had a virtual or exterior presence, that the idea of an ethnographic presence (Fabian 1983; Sanjek 1991; Denzin 1997; Law 2004), was always in some ways mythical, a delusion that we could package a model of different realities and gift them to the world as truth; delusional in the sense that the truth was in fact a sort of fiction (Clifford and Marcus 1986). The *Sage Handbook of Ethnography* (2009) says, "Whatever the range of data collection techniques, we believe that ethnographic research remains firmly rooted in the first-hand exploration of research settings. It is this sense of social exploration and protracted investigation that gives ethnography its abiding and continuing character" (Atkinson et al 2004: 5). Elsewhere in the introduction to the handbook, they argue that the methodological commitment of anthropologists and symbolic interactionists (as a type of field based sociology) to ground their work in bold and intensive empirical investigations is laudable at a time when other

"cultural specialists' have gone in for rather less firmly rooted work with far too much fathomable theory and intellectual faddism, and insufficient attention to the realities of everyday life" (5).

While I would argue that experimentation with alternate modes of doing ethnography is essential to bringing forth comprehension of complex and interwoven social problems, my own work is very grounded in everyday struggles and seeks to inform debates of social issues that are grounded in lived experience. To this end, there are some basic ties between my work and earlier anthropological traditions, and also ties to critical and pragmatic forms of sociology. However, the work I do is representative of a number of future looking approaches that tie various fields, interconnected modes of representation and a virtually perpetual notion of the ethnographic present, into a critical mode of ethnography that tends to conflict with these traditional views. As an approach that pirates an essentially anthropological approach, embedded participant observation, within a pragmatic ethnography of critique, I seem to be seeking dual citizenship that flirts with intellectual fetishism. I even argue that ethnographies have a certain organic quality that suggests that their temporal execution might include tendencies towards various modes at different times; the work can be at times descriptive and purely interpretive, and then critical and political (Bourdieu 1958; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Law (2004), Latour (2005), Lather (2004) and Denzin and Lincoln (2005) give evidence of the inevitability of producing such so-called "messy" texts when trying to understand complex modern social problems[9].

Given the destabilizing of its authoritative rank since the "turn" of the 1980's, how then, can an investigative method that has been found wanting in its quest for,

"writing culture," be conjoined with the clearly important but highly contestable notions of critique? Being critical absolutely means taking a position. In light of the post-modern, post-structural turn, how can an ethnography that says something, that takes a position towards understanding critical action, be valid, if reality is unknowable, or at the very least, constantly shifting? Is a post-structural/post-critical ethnography possible? Ultimately, I argue that following Denzin's (1997) heuristically conceived 8 moments of qualitative inquiry, the *fractured future* of ethnography rests in a pragmatic ethnographic approach to critical action, in politically motivated activist ethnographies, rather than its traditional and impossible role as an arbiter of truth told from a position of exteriority. Denzin and Lincoln suggest, "The eighth moment is now" and that only the most tentative legacies and causal links can be made. In remarking on the latest period, they leave it wide open for the interconnecting of methods, theories and multiple criteria for adjudicating validity. So it is that I have glanced over important works only to draw out a few simple strands of theory. I recognize such a doing as derisory in its brevity, but necessary in the long run. Researchers "have never before had so many paradigms, strategies of inquiry and methods of analysis to draw upon and utilize" (20). Looking forward they offer that we are in a moment of "discovery and rediscovery out of which new ways of looking, interpreting, arguing and writing are debated and discussed" (ibid). Pragmatic ethnography of critique emerged out of the problem-oriented work I do with villagers, in which ethnographic knowledge has been used to steer various political actions. This type of ethnography is thus, pragmatic, critical and risky.

3.4 PEOC Has Ties to Critical, Reflexive Ethnography

Critical ethnography has a long and rich history in anthropology and the social sciences (Conquergood 1991; Smith, G. 1991; Thomas 1993; Carspecken 1996; Davis 1999; Denzin 2001; Lather 2002; Smith D. 1999; Kinsman 2006;). Foley (2002) provides one of the more complete examinations of the roots of critical ethnography:

> Such empirical investigations are often founded on the following general ontological and epistemological assumptions: (1) All cultural groups produce an inter-subjective reality which is both ``inherited'' and continually constructed and reconstructed as it is lived or practiced. This shared cultural reality is external in the sense that Bourdieu defines ``habitas'' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). It is a distinct, lived historical tradition ``objectified'' through structuring practices (laws, public policies, cultural conventions). The habitas of a lived historical tradition is marked by a collective memory of particular ecological, geo-political, embodied, spaces/places; (2) a well-trained, reflexive investigator can know that historical, socially constructed reality in a partial, provisional sense through an intensive, experiential encounter with people who live by these cultural constructions of reality; and (3) a reflexive investigator, who has experienced this unfamiliar cultural space and has dialogued with its practitioners, can portray this cultural space and its people in a provisionally accurate manner (2002:43).

Though it is impossible to pinpoint its origins, critical ethnography is increasingly becoming the mode of critical qualitative analysis across disciplines, where there is a need to understand how the lived experiences of actors often in performance oriented positions such as nursing (Vandenberg and Hall 2011) or political movements (Smith 1990), are wrapped up in systems of order, domination and power struggle. Foley argues for a certain detachment of the ethnographer, and this to generalize to all cases where a critical approach might happen. In my work, which I have often argued is critical ethnography, I have also argued that I am an ethnographic resource precisely for my proximity to the culture in which I work. I dealt with this earlier, and in some detail in the following chapter, but I have to argue here, that all our portrayals are "provisionally

accurate" and that often, commonality with the culture provides insights we could not have from a distance (Colins 2008; Gallinat 2008; Coffey 1999).

Critical ethnography at last is about understanding action directed towards social justice. As an extension of the Marxist project to reveal orders of inequity, in practice, critical ethnography departs from the external role of observer and aligns or integrates with the action of individuals in critical action as a tool of empowerment. Far from pretending to be external or objective, the critical ethnographer adjoins the "transformative endeavor" and "emancipatory consciousness" (Kincheloe and McLaren 2000:291). In developing the notion of a subjugated knowledge; that is, on how frames of reference come to be shaped in the field by institutions and other regimes of knowledge, the authors *present* the case that language and communicative action are aspects of power and of dominated subjectivities[10]. Once again, yes, this is how critical ethnographers have understood themselves. I want to suggest that critical in the sense of doing work in one's own culture, can attach itself to one of the two levels of emancipation I have mentioned already. We do not have to disclose contradictions and domination to eradicate the system that predicates them, but we can, as an interim or part of a long-term strategic plan, indicate how to participate more fully in them. It might even seem that since I have already argued that I understand power much as Foucault has, that a critical position is counter-intuitive, since it seeks to render domination clearly, so that emancipation might be found. Once again, I have to go back to my insistence that critical work and by that I mean, exposing how domination and power work in groups can have two emancipatory goals, and that the immanent transcendence that anchors

traditional critical ethea is to ignore the values and goals actors attach to their own position in the systems we study.

Because my work focuses on an impoverished and marginalized group, I expected to hear a kind of indictment of capital, when in fact, as we will see, most villagers do not reject the inequality capital produces. PEOC really messes things up. There is no way to see things in a "certain way" if one is pragmatic and critical. In the sense that a PEOC embraces a means to understand how truths are produced, argued and effective in the worlds of social actors, it in itself presents an "exquisitely tormented" understanding in the sense that it completely undermines the bedrock of delusions that undergird grand narratives and allegedly foundational truths that researchers and participants alike might hold (Derrida 1996:55 in Lather 2004:481). "Moving across levels of the particular and the abstract, trying to voice a transcendent purchase on the object of study, we set ourselves up for necessary failure in order to learn how to find our way into post-foundational possibilities" (Lather 2004:482). The wonderful predisposition of the deconstructionist aspect of this position is its very lack of predisposition in the academic sense (ibid). As ethnographers we can no longer try to fit the assumption of daily experience into neat conceptual categories and systems of classification. Lather adds, "given the demise of master narratives of identification, perspective and linear truth, such ethnography draws close to its objects in the moment of loss where much is refused, including abandoning the project to such a moment" (2004:482, also Haver 1996 in Lather 2004:482).

In terms of the authority of the researcher, a deconstructionist critique leads to the destabilizing of traditional power relations in critical research. Successfully undertaken,

this kind of ethnography "problematizes the researcher as "the one who knows" (Lather 2004:482), since in a critical ethnography the point is to understand how truths are constructed by researcher and actors, and the actions in which they are engaged. Furthermore, and in my work especially, I am free if not frequently asked to offer my educated opinion as it were, and this is very often rejected.

Lather (2004) and Denzin and Lincoln (2005) amongst others remind us that since ethnography has represented a form of surveillance and discipline (Foucault 1998; Said 1989; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Fabian 1983), critical ethnography situates research in a position to fail; indeed, it counts on reaching points where understanding is pressed to the limits of capacity to inform. I went to Dignity Village in 2010 and found Utopia. Then in a few days, non-utopian elements like the asylum-effect that John Boy spoke to in my film, *Spaces, Places and States of Mind…* appeared and forced me to interrogate my understanding. Over the following year I worked on developing a model of the village based on its ability to *resolve the life traumas of homeless people* by forging them into happy and useful citizens. When I returned in 2011, the community was completely dysfunctional and close to imploding. What had happened to Utopia? Once again, I had reached a point where my understanding was insufficient to make sense or to remedy the problems of community that villagers faced. Often when I was there, a villager asked about my solutions to political or social problems, and more often than not this had led to heated arguments and debates. On a few occasions, some of the villagers chose to no longer work with me because I had taken a hard line on the idleness and low morale.

And I have colleagues who suggest that this was a supra-participant form of observation –I was acting outside my ethically participative capacity. However, this

debating and argumentation was exactly what villagers did in their own time, and so it was expected of me to take sides, to argue, to appear aligned with others and to be understandable by these attachments. Those who remained outside of such "factions" were just not trusted because their motives and feelings were largely unknowable – they were "outside of things." Inasmuch as I was forcing villagers to unravel the miserable state of affairs for me, in order to do so they had to confront the fiction in their own narratives about the village. And in turn I had to confront my own contradictions and assumptions about the village and the complexity of the person who lived there.

Michelle – From *Dignity in Exile* (2012: 95)

One day, before I went to New Seasons Market to buy my daily salad, I filmed a few of the villagers who were trying to figure out what to have for dinner based on the meager canned goods they had stashed. It was a few days until the food stamps were issued, and the usual Sunday leftovers from the bar down the road hadn't arrived. Normally, the restaurant brought its entire Sunday brunch buffet leftovers; bacon, sausage, pancakes, bread, eggs, fruits and rich desserts. Villagers pounced on the food. I refrained from eating it because, in all honesty, watching them claw into the stuff with their hands made it unappetizing. But it hadn't come that Sunday, so as we ended filming I offered to pick up some food for Michelle and a couple of friends. I didn't know her too well but I knew her well enough to appreciate how hard it must be for a single woman to be living in a 6 x 8 foot shack without a support network. Left to fend for herself on the streets, she would, if the stats were correct, have to hook up with a man or a group of street people, to ensure her safety and that things like food and shelter were found. In the village, she was one of only a handful of single women. I knew she was angry most of the time. I knew she could rocket into incredible rants. I also knew she had a good heart. This place was her last hope. I knew, even if she didn't say so.

Michelle was reticent to accept my offer. The two others asked what I was getting, ready to share it. Not Michelle. She just shook her head. I had met struggling people who declined my help, but usually because my offer of food or clothes wasn't what they were after. They wanted cash. Michelle had never asked for a thing. So I couldn't put a finger on why she in particular denied my offer.

I walked away. She chased after me and said, "I'm embarrassed… I'm not working… I'm living off Washington State food stamps." It was embarrassing to her because she had real skills, but nowhere to use them. She was a journeyman carpenter, and was a card-carrying union member. But Michelle, like many other single moms with threads of mental health issues and personal trauma, could no longer transform her skills into long-term stable employment, even though she had a pretty impressive resumé of carpentry, framing and other construction gigs from Seattle to Portland. In a declining economy on the west coast, where "even paint shops are reducing their employees from

200 to 20. It just isn't possible. I'm 50 years old, and I have no home. And, half the time you can't find a place to even squat because the cops are all working for the banks and the banks are all working for the capitalists."

Her tone became loud when she talked about the liturgy of her life, as she always engaged in the classic Marxian ideas about the alienation of the laborer and then shifted to her disgust of the police and the mental health system, wherein less than a year ago, she had been diagnosed as manic depressive and committed to a mental health facility for a few weeks. Her switches were many and they turned on and off in unpredictable linkages. Her circuits overloaded, her body, her face, her gestures transformed instantly, blurting things so quickly and so nonsensically that she welled up and her cheeks flushed. "I'm sorry, I'm sorry," she said. "I know I am not supposed to get angry. I know you don't like that on camera." "No," I told her, "that's not it. I just well, I don't know how to help you."

A long pause. We just smiled at each other. A transformation in her. From anger to apparent tranquility.

"But anyway," she went on, "I feel great here, man. Portland rocks! And the sisters, the 'sparky sisters.' The electrician sisters, are really reaching out to me and helping me to feel included, people are really helping me to feel a sense of inclusion, even though I am embarrassed that I am homeless."

While I was there, from Seattle to northern California came tales of how the unions helped to support the unemployed. The support of local unions had been vital to her sense of self-worth. Her face lit up, she put her fists in the air. "We're working people," she exclaimed and looked to me with a furrowed brow, fishing for agreement.

Michelle was not new to hardship. We sat together a couple of days later out on the berm and had a conversation about that. She and her single mom had come to Seattle when Michelle was just ten years old. Mom had got married a couple of years into it. And, "She had real mental health issues, I can tell you. To this day I believe she was a perv. And I ran away when I was 13." I wanted to know more about this. Michelle obliged. The circuit was turned on. Michelle had grown up in local state group homes and she insisted, "Back in the '70's they really cared for runaways and juveniles. Places like Echo Glen were like summer camps. It was a beautiful place, about 40 miles from Seattle, up in the woods and not like now – it's just juvenile lockdown…"

Her eyes were red with anger. She swung her arm up and down like an axe. "Fucking lockdown, man! They don't put a safety net under runaways anymore. They just toss them on the streets."

She had been in that system from 13 until she'd become pregnant at 17. Her first child was born a week after her 18th birthday. She had seven children from four fathers. "I had a little confusion there. Growing up by myself like that, especially without a father figure. You get a little confused about those things."

I asked, "So you had no father figure to look after you?"

She was waving her hands like a referee waving off a goal in an NHL game. Waving… shaking her head. "Yeah, no, my stepfather. But no, not really. And to this day, and you know it has taken me years to figure this out, but I really believe, to this day, I feel that I was part of the marriage proposal. I feel like my mother had a diabolical plan for me. But my stepfather had restraint and never took her up on the offer."

"Which was what?"

"To have me sexually, to molest me."

"Really?"

"Yeah, and she used to degrade me sexually." Michelle directed a fit of anger in a controlled fashion. Her hands cut the air, like blades. She caught her thigh with one hand and the slap stung her leg. She recoiled and shook her hand to release the pain. "She used to call me 'whore' and, I mean, I was only eight or ten years old and she would be yelling at me, 'You filthy whore, he is my husband you're a slut' – CRAZY woman, but I feel like I have finally come to a point where I can talk about this and really let go. She lives in P____. My sister won't talk to her either. And, you know, that's the thing. Through Facebook and… the net, my sister and aunts and uncles I hold no grudge against, are there, and I just don't feel too good about contacting family, I guess. I see other folks here doing it all the time, but I'm nervous about being involved with family."

Except her kids. She was proud of her sons, her daughter. She clung to the ties she had with them. "You know, one of them has a problem with drugs, but all in all… it's pretty good. One of them just got back from Afghanistan…"

"In the army?"

"Yeah, and he didn't do too badly." Clapping her hand around her forehead, she teared up. "I was just so against it when he went, but he didn't do too bad. He turned out really well, he's sending me some money." She smiled radiantly.

Seated on the berm for that hour with Michelle, I had almost forgotten that we had started out that day trying to figure out how to get her some food because she'd run out of food stamps. She wasn't worried though. When she'd got her stamps, she'd always bought good food, good quality, organic and wholesome, so when she'd gotten low on food, what she had left to nibble on was good food. She'd been scrounging like this since she'd left the carpenters' union after ten years, about five years earlier. In the '90's she had been living with the father of her last three kids, in a ten-year-long relationship, in a nice quiet rental home. Back then he'd had trouble working and, "We had stable housing, and all these kids and I was on welfare. Clinton was saying he was going to kick people off welfare, and I was wondering what I could do. And, mysteriously someone left a Tony Robbins pamphlet in a wastebasket on Thanksgiving '96 and I just went, 'Whoa! I don't need to be on welfare anymore!'"

She'd got into a new trade apprenticeship program for women, a program designed to teach women the skills necessary to compete in a man's world, as she put it. Math skills, social skills, organization and "all the stuff I needed to go and get into the apprenticeship program for carpenters. And I just kinda dove right into it."

Her breath became labored, and she frantically brushed the hair off her face, then she told me through a rush of tears, "And I saw the possibility of home ownership, of putting a roof over my kids' heads and I realize now that was my whole problem, buying into that Carleton Sheets thing – investments, mortgages, equity. It's just wrong. I don't have a head for investing. But I saw the possibility of owning my home for the first time, and I tried, I did so try. And, you know, property prices were going up, and the work was getting harder and harder to find and on me, my back. I knew women don't last that long in the union, in the trade, but, I was like… [she mimicked holding a machine gun] I'm gonna go out here and make myself a home, rrrrrrr… and one of my kids is autistic, and… and I'm doing this in 2001, 2002 and 2003 and housing prices are just increasing. And then the house we rented in got sold, and we had really loved it. We had cheap rent

and we loved the neighborhood. And housing prices just got so high and I felt like I was just struggling to keep a roof over my family's heads after that. And after they weren't dependent on me anymore. That's when I walked away from the carpenters' union 'cause there was really nothing, um, and I walked away – from the possibilities – of owning my home."

I paused for a moment, tilting the camera downwards and she smiled at me apologetically.

"But that's all in the past." She wiped away the tears, took a deep breath.
"You know, I'm lucky I found this place when I did, because I don't know what I would've done."

After couch surfing, using shelters and sleeping behind a church, she'd become involved with one of the several temporary camps strewn across Seattle. What is today known as Nickelsville – a city-recognized, but not legalized, tent encampment that is now in its fourth year – became her home. She had unfortunate memories of that place. At first she'd felt it had great potential. The community was really fighting for land claims by the homeless. But, organized under the auspices of an activist NGO – Share/Wheel[31] – Michelle insists the community's fiscal arrangements and outreach were soon being overseen by a management team, rather than by the actual members. "They try to make us think we have some say, but it's way worse than here at the village. If they think they have factions and all that crap here, they should see up there. And one guy was getting two bucks a head for everyone who stayed there. Two bucks a head a night."

"So over a thousand a week?" I asked. "To watch the village?"

"To be a manager," she said sarcastically, fingers gesturing quotation marks. "The tent master. Anyway, I helped build the place. I worked on the structures and I had good friends there. I never did dope or caused any trouble. And I left one time to try my business, my vintage clothing thing. And it worked for a while. But it was hard, Eric. Really hard. So there I was again. I was living at the Harborview, but it was no good. So I followed some people I knew, from the U-district parking lot. We took the bus down to Nickelsville. And I had busted my butt for that place. I'd never got barred from that place, never been disciplined, and they turned me away at midnight without even a blanket onto the streets of Seattle, and that was my repayment from Nickelsville. That's how they repaid my hard work and dedication – by turning me away when I did need help because I didn't have ID."

"But they knew who you were?"

She nodded, "But they didn't care."

When she'd heard about Dignity Village and had come to it, it was like the angels were singing and heaven had opened to her, finally.

"But we can speak up here and have a voice. And I love this place. Just the place itself, and the real, uh, community, man. And, you know, now I really want to be about activism. I need a purpose in my life and I just want to spread a message of unity and I just been through all that like spirituality and I just think that we all gotta get it – you know sometimes I'm the worst you know for going 'oh that person's got money, oh, oh, oh'… and I don't want to be that way. I just want us all to unify and take our lives back, and I want people to move back into their houses. And that's what got me down here in the first place. Just seeing all the foreclosures and the tragedy in the place I lived for 44 years."

"Seattle?"
"Yeah, yeah sorry… sorry."
"Don't be sorry, don't be. This is hard stuff to talk about."
She smiled. "It really is."
"But maybe it's good to talk about it?"
"I totally think so."
"There are people who need to hear your story."
"Thank you." She wiped her eyes.

Fig. 13. Michelle at her dorm. (N. Dickson 2011).

As only one example of the deep structure to even mundane critical attitudes, Michelle's story explains how difficult it is to write culture without the reflexive commitments to which I speak. *This was a relationship*. There is no way to talk about her without revealing how she and I articulate our ideas together. She suffers. She

suffers from psychiatric and personal issues, and I can't imagine producing an external summary of what I learned from her, just as this last sentence feels awkward, if not necessary. Understanding that all cultures construct privacy and secrets in their own fashion, it is still absolutely necessary to be "present" in the storytelling as a way of showing trust and loyalty to the participant (Moor 1990; Pink 2007; Svenningsson Elm 2008; Aull Davies [1998] 2008). This is very different from pragmatic inquiry that asks questions, looking for answers that conform to an overall agenda. In *New Spirit…* Boltanski and Chiapello (2005*)* employed ethnographic methods including interviews but the questions and goals of the interviews were to address the issue of "justifications," whereas in my work, the participant guides the direction of inquiry opening and closing subjects, providing contiguous and separate sets of ideas to the ones I might have been interested in when I sat down with them. In Michel's case, she leaps from deeply personal agitations, to points of view – critiques of entire economic systems, communities and governance. She came to know me as a person she *could talk to* and she told me when I should or shouldn't record our conversations because she had an idea of what she "wanted to put out there."

In opening up investigation to its own contradictions and biases, the ethos of deconstructive ethnography is to reach what Lather has called the three "Aporias of Practice" (2004:482). In short, the first aporia concerns ethics and is resolvable by recognizing research as a form of knowledge construction that is constantly negotiated and negotiable, where a reflexive style of representation, can illuminate the "field of play" (ibid)[11]. The second aporia concerns authenticity, representation and voice. In this Lather suggests, "…my attempt is not so much 'against' authenticity and voice as it is a double

economy of the text to move toward de-stabilizing practices of 'telling the other' (McGee 1992) in ways that displace the privileged fixed position from which the researcher interrogates and writes the researched (Robinson 1994)" (484). The last aporia is the "Interpretation and its Complicities." Lather suggests the problem is that, as noble as it might sound to be reflexive and to avoid "othering" informants, the truth is they are not "me" in the sense that they do represent other sovereign beings. How does one respect the collective experience of doing fieldwork with another "person," or "persons" and yet pay respect to the qualities of their experience that are theirs and therefore are different; that do comprise the *other* in the "other?" Ultimately she quotes Visweswaran (1994:80): "Reflexive ethnography authorizes itself by confronting its own processes of interpretation as some sort of cure towards better knowing, while deconstruction approaches 'knowing through not knowing'" (in Lather 2004: 486). This in the manner I understand it, is essentially a type of pragmatic issue.

A reflexive platform is the only way to understand how my actions helped to generate the understanding that I ultimately represent. The understanding comes from a certain lacking of knowledge about many things. As Lather argues, "we don't know what we are seeing, how much we are missing, what we are not understanding, or even how to locate those lacks…My interest is, rather, Derrida's ethos of lack when lack becomes an enabling condition" (Lather 2004:486). Hence at the root of the deconstructionist critique is the point we reach where we don't know or where the fantasies we understand as truth collapse, and it is from these aporias, new knowledge, in the sense, it has not been known (to us) before, emerges as the necessary discovery that makes critical moments happen and by us, this means me as the ethnographer and those villagers with

whom I worked[12]. This knowledge may come as knowledge of the self as a type of victim or as having power, where such things were not imagined before; it may come as a means by which to reveal the capricious forces of governance that are wreaking havoc on the morale of the village but had hitherto been seen as benevolent; the mobile health services, the city assessment teams, the freedom to live on a composting tarmac; all delusions in governmentality (of poverty) to manage a troublesome population. How do actors come to know this from within the experience of it? Where does the critical impulse to challenge this compliance come from, if it all?

Insomuch as the village claim made in 2000 drew attention away from the practices of the city towards housing, and made the homeless position a priority, one can argue that shift in extant power relations took place. From Larsen (2011), one might suggest that this is yet another example of how such power transformations shift the "spotlight away from authorities and those who exercise power, in order to focus almost exclusively on the subject of power, i.e. the student (or in this case the homeless claimant)" (38). What these critiques share is an indictment of hierarchical power and the use of knowledge from outside of the movement itself - from educators, social sciences, media and other activists, in order to present and claim alternate visions (38). As Larsen reminds us, time is very important here; not as a qualitative measure of experience, but in the sense that the degree to which a claim might be deemed successful can only be understood organically over a period of time, as the new power relations that a series of critical events produce can mature and display their own structural effects, as it were.

Dignity Village is a case that supports the idea put forth by Larsen, that "when critical ideas are effective in displacing power relations, the ideas themselves are easily turned inside out in the same process" (38). PEOC is useful in establishing how linkages between various critical positions help us to actually gauge critical capacities and action, and in the case of this dissertation asks that we look at how neoliberal critiques of the state and governmentality "claim to govern as little as possible, but still develop ever more elaborate techniques to extract the most of human capital" (39).

There is danger in this critical approach as several critics have pointed out, in so much as revealing the hidden structures to unwary participants is a destabilizing moment for the participant (Vandenberg and Hall 2011:25-30; Kincheloe and McLaren 2005; Denzin 1997). The authoritative stance of the researcher as the harbinger of important information is at once taken seriously, and often taken as inevitable; the net effect is to confirm the inevitability of domination and to suspend the critical moment in a sense of hopelessness. Hence a number of researchers (Lincoln 1995; Hall and Callery 2001, in Vandenberg and Hall 2011) argue for the extension of the relations of field knowledge creation to the participants, as both a means to access the critical resources of actors and to democratize the production of truth about critical action. One of the ways this is done is through abandonment of the traditional privy status by the researcher and the use of a highly reflexive manner in the field, and in the process of representing the critical experience. We are also compelled in this work to consider working towards critical knowledge as a type of act in the sense that Isin (2008) and Nielsen (2008) have suggested. This is so because the basis on which pragmatic storytelling and oral traditions unite is a certain dialogic experience where the use of language and

communication to arrive at new knowledge is in itself a break with common practice, since it is new and unfolding, and also inheres answerability to an other outside of the participants—the critique, itself.

3.5 Reflexivity and Dialogics

Dialogics is very simply the recognition by two participants in a speech act that each position is mutually constitutive despite the myriad possibilities for rejoinders around them (Bakhtin 1982:271-2). Since it is possible that an actor could be establishing meaning with a number of others and that the dialogic moment is a unique one, if it is to have analytic force in critical ethnography, the grounds on which that unique act took place need to be known by those in a position to interpret the investigative act, to act on the basis of its suggestive courses of action. This tells us what other information was excluded, or why some information was included, and contributes the answerability of the investigation to the just cause (the Other), which I explain presently. A reflexive mode of representation is required to account for the dialogic nature of such acts. An underlying premise in my research is that no matter what I am told, there are other voices speaking; friends, enemies, supporters, ancestors and therapists and more, who are not present in the corporeal sense, but exist at other levels of experience, in memory, imagination, just out of view, or on the temporal horizon. So part of the pragmatic aspect of my work is trying to understand where certain critical attitudes originate in villagers as a way to account for the diversity. I am really trying to understand what they do and those implications, on the now, or "moments" from now. Understanding how people come to think and act as a matter of personal contexts helps to explain diverse responses to

situations that appear to be the same, to those of us outside of them. Bakhtin speaks of centripetal and centrifugal forces that respectively unite and pull apart the meaning of language and ideas (ibid). When I speak of the investigative work I do as an act of sorts, I am in a sense, trying to understand these forces in the critical deliberations that occur between the villagers, and me but also to try and know how those forces existed in their knowledge-forming prior experience. Reflexive openings to this kind of information don't appear immediately, not all of the time, and so often it has been the case where revisiting an experience with villagers has revealed new knowledge that they came up with upon a period of self-reflection.

Reflexivity is a dominant if not essential element of current ethnographic anthropology and of social research in general (Bourgois 1992, 1995; Church 1995; Pink 1997; Bourdieu 2004). There is in general the sense that in any social research where the investigative "eye" is turned outward, it must also be turned inward. I would argue that reflexivity has always been a vital part of ethnography and of the general study of humanity. The social psychology of George Herbert Mead in *Mind, Self and Society* (1934) asserts the social nature of "being human" and the essentialness of reflexivity for the formation of the self. "It is by means of reflexiveness—the turning back of the experience of the individual upon himself – that the whole social process is thus brought into the experiences of individuals…" (In Straus 1956:211). Similarly, Mikhail Bakhtin, in *Towards A Philosophy Of The Act* (1993), constructs the I-other architectonic as the once occurrent state of being, where individuals aesthetically contemplate others, and upon returning into oneself, can proceed to understand, to empathize and to act. While Mead does not situate reflexivity directly in the process that occurs between the "student

and the studied", Bakhtin implicates the dialogic process of interpenetration and self-reflection in the investigative act (1993:4). Bakhtin has shown clearly that there is a difficulty in interpreting what actors do when they act based solely on pre-existing concepts as if the actors come with a set of contingent-specific potentialities installed within them, and that the investigator cannot be free of his, or their own value laden "point of view". The "act is already folded into an event and thus into an order" (1993:28). The traditional "rules" of social fieldwork engagement purport objectivity in making observations about an event or deed and so on. In a perfect *I-other* event, the "actors" would act as if they were merely present in the event, and that what was *occurrent* issued primacy over what was valued or expected. In either case, as Engin Isin points out, if one does not make some kind of a judgment based on pre-existing notions, "one may have nothing to say at all about the act". Isin calls this the "paradox of acts" (2008:28).

Traditional field research is an act the sense that we have discussed earlier; one that twists inverts and breaks with habitus in the sense that Bakhtin suggests, because it is a uniquely emerging experience. Isin (2008) points out that one of the most interesting points Bakhtin makes in theorizing acts is his attempt to write the investigator into the act as an actor. Yet, in *Towards a Philosophy of the Act*, Bakhtin unfortunately spends relatively little time specifically on that point. However, what he does demonstrate is that in studying or investigating an act per se, one articulates not the world produced by the act, "but the world in that act becomes answerably aware of itself and is actually performed" (1993:31). Bakhtin is pointing to the probability that the once-occurrent eventness of the ethnographic present presupposes the necessity of the observer and the

subject in a "shared" moment of becoming. Hence the observer and the observed comingle and the traditional authority of a privileged researcher is usurped by an answerability to an emerging representation. Hence, the only truly ethical ethnographic moment is the one where this duality of roles is both recognized and accounted for, and performed, by the observer-come-subject. Pragmatic Ethnography suggests re-presenting how knowledge is made available in a co-production between the villager, and me and is therefore a reflexive moment. In previous fieldwork with shanty dwellers, it has been shown that the really difficult material to gather, the moments where intimate information, secrets, feelings and disappointments come into the presence of the ethnography is a result of this destabilization of roles through a fidelity of both or all performers to the once occurrent event of the ethnographic present.

As an example, take Eddy Johnston. I met Eddy in his shack at Tent City in 2001. Eddy was a murderer, an inmate at the Kingston penitentiary in 1971. During the time he was incarcerated, he knifed a pedophile who had been raping young inmates, and to whom the guards had turned a blind eye. He stabbed him 42 times as a message to other "diddlers" and the guards, that the rest of the prison population wouldn't stand for the presence of rapists in their midst. Eddy was given an extra 17 years for that "intervention." This helped to kick off the infamous Kingston riots[13]. He is known as one of the original "Kingston thirteen." He was also a resident at Tent City when I did my fieldwork there in 2001. We became friends over the next 6 years, until his death due to crack use and other poor choices he made, despite having earned a place in Toronto's rent supplement program. When we had met, I had some difficulty reconciling his past with the friendly outgoing and loyal man I met in is shack in 2001. But then he would smoke

some rock (crack), and this other Eddy appeared. There was so much "pain inside" him that he smoked to "kill the pain, to the kill the pain." It made him not hurt, not feel, not care about nuthin" (at 6:00:00 - http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RC5LRioMmck - also DS DISC 1, Subtext *ROM Cut* at 00:42:24).

When Tent City was paved over, Eddy and Terry, who I have mentioned earlier, and who were good friends, insisted I keep in touch. They had my phone number. When they and the other 113 residents were evicted from Tent City and forced back to the streets, we kept in touch infrequently and it would have been easy to draw their part of the story to a natural close. That would not be the case, because as housing programs for the victims of Tent City were announced, Eddy and Terry got back in touch with me. They felt they had won rights, along with others from Tent City by aligning with housing advocates in a fight for rent supplements. A new chapter in their story was beginning. They literally told me that this was part of their story too, and that I should follow it. As obviously as this anecdote links their voice to the authorship of all subsequent work I did about or with them, it also links my willingness to help them produce a certain range of knowledge about their experience, that they had hoped "would help other homeless people." Most importantly for how it informs my present work, my work with Eddy, for example has shown me that ethnographic moments are completely open ended if continuity exists; that is, if researchers and informants manage or need to continue "where they left off." Once-occurrent events, but what are the temporal bounds on the event?

In Eddy's case, it was interviewing with him in his apartment, three years after I met him that demonstrated to me how in cases, the aporia, the moment where the

informant's truth, what is true to him, that is, often takes years of "showing up" and being present (at 00:11:54 www.youtube.com/watch?v=wIdh8kLy4AI).

As narrator, I say, "Even early in his housing Eddy seemed, calmer, reflective, as if being housed were a balm to his mental health, and after losing a second child to the CAS, Eddy seemed well on his way to confronting his pain."

Eddy says, "I cost myself the kids because I didn't stop (doing crack)." He sits back on a large lounge chair. Holding a mug of coffee. Eyes welling up. He looks away then back. He's sad. I have come to know that when he is sad, his rejoinders to turn to humor, "Not bad for fifty years eh? Lose only two out of twelve?" he quips, but it doesn't work. His eyes well up.

Brian Dodge, another ex resident of Tent City is there. We have become a trio of sorts. They live in the same housing project near the airport. He was in Kingston Penitentiary with Eddy. "Pops" as I call him, is very uncomfortable with Eddy's tears. It's a sign of weakness, I imagine. Eddy has always been the tough guy and the leader of their little group. Housing has changed certain things about him.

Eddy rises, walks towards the window. He can't speak. He is travelling somewhere, in his head. I keep the camera on him. He is hardly aware or does not care. He quietly says to me: " It's okay buddy. Someday I'll sit and talk with ya. I'm the uncaring, unfeeling whatever I am…just addict, don't care, don't feel about nuthin', nobody, nowhere…" He walks a bit, looks out the window. He's sniffling. "Anyways," he adds, as he walks over to me, "Ya spun me buddy…" and he laughs as he pushes my camera away.

The abovementioned example is that moment where new knowledge occurred because of the reflexive and critical engagement of researcher and participants over time (DS DISC 3: "Spaces, Places" at 00:28:02 - 00:28:29). We become answerable together to a greater Other - a truth perhaps, a critical awareness. Bakhtin adds, "An event can only be described participatively" (31). In terms of observation, "it is not a world of objects that theorizing acts creates but relations amongst those objects and subjects as they unfold to each other and the investigator" (Isin 2008:30). Two facets of Bakhtin's model stand out here in the context of PEOC. One is that for an investigator, his study is always in the process of becoming and is never finished. "An object that is absolutely indifferent, totally finished cannot be something one becomes actually conscious of,

something one experiences actually" (1993:32). Hence, defining ethnography in terms of some temporal index, a beginning, middle or end, is quite impossible and referring to the object of an investigation in terms which reflect its *current* status in the *event of being* may be more appropriate. If one argues the moment I started my fieldwork, and the moment I left that field is a time frame, then the argument can be made that there is a clear beginning and end. I think by now we more or les agree that because fieldwork is a knowledge experience, the pragmatic deliberations, before, during and after time spent *in situ* open the temporal boundaries considerably to debate.

Regardless of the source, suffice it to say that "reflexivity is thus the constant awareness, assessment, and reassessment by the researcher of the researcher's own contribution/influence/shaping of intersubjective research and the consequent research findings" (Salzman 2002:806)[14]. Insomuch as reflexivity reveals the researcher's life experience, beliefs and goals at the onset and though a variety of techniques, during the ongoing ethnographic process, the experience we report is about these, and it is about the group with whom the ethnography is made. What the reflexive stance does is to create a knowledge creation dynamic where various actors come in and out of the process as contributors to the organic emancipatory project. Furthermore, reflexivity hinges on reciprocity; it allows for actors to critique the research, to assess the researcher's motives as a means of argumentation, and to suggest alternatives.

3.6 Visual Ethnography, Time, the Other and the Practical

Johannes Fabian (1983) argued that anthropology's traditional handling of time as part of history or evolution was weakened by its subordination to the visual. For Fabian the problem of anthropology was the "the denial of coevalness". We envisioned the textual snapshot we took of other cultures as frozen in that time. We did not problematize that current frame as the nexus of history, present and future possibilities. Visualism had for a long time stood in the way of understanding coevalness because of its insistence of seeing difference in progressive measures of time. Now it must be understood that Fabian's critique was addressed to traditional anthropology and its focus on "simpler" or different cultures. Hence, a problem for him was that ethnography tended to look at others in terms of how far away they a were in temporal, spatial and therefore cultural senses; above this ethnography tended to treat them as if its accounts of these cultures were fixed in a different time than its own. Sanjek (1991) argues,

> "Fabian is concerned with the artificiality and the freezing of time that descriptions in the present tense may impart. Ethnography written in the present tense implies a view of human behaviour as conventional, predictable and rule-determined - a "culturology". Such writing conveys none of the independence of rule and action experienced in the ethnographer's own world, nor does it present behaviour as contingent, situational or deliberate…The ethnographic present, for Fabian, functions to take the society so described out of the time stream of history in which ethnographers and their own societies exist" (612).

As a means to resurrecting the notion of an ethnographic present, Sanjek (1991:609) posits four interconnecting angles of the ethnographic present. These are the present state of ethnography, the mode of presenting ethnography, the ethnographer's presence during ethnography, and ethnography as a material product like a gift. Video satisfies the problem of coevalness by offering a rich record of events and knowledge creation as they were experienced, and video affords participants a way to revisit what I

call “originating moments” in order to amend the knowledge that was created to suit new categories of experience. In this way basic problems with ethnographic presence and the problem of coevalness are answered. And I agree with Sanjek, that we must not be lost in romantic notions of the deconstructed other, of the fear of ignoring the dialogicism of “real’ interaction (618-619). In terms of observation, video affords all involved a chance to revisit moments and to construct new meanings out of old. I have thought of this as a certain critical capacity, and as well, an ethical, and by that I meant *more equal* way of re-presenting other people’s stories and the stories of our working *together*. Beyond this, recording fieldwork on video captures field events in terms of a coded digital time sequence, which unites participants in a duration where their co-mingling is revealed as a series of interconnecting frames and data codes that are evidence of their coevalness in a time, a sense of time, neither theirs or mine, but ours – digitally compressed as tangible evidence of what happened and in what sequence, if that matters. There can be no more coeval a presence than this. If this video record stands as a sort of objective account of the raw experience, raw data as such, then it can be revisited and edited to be used in a number of ways: it can be used to review events and solve problems; to inform others of issues that need to be addressed, it can be packaged and presented as summary of events or cultures (an ethnographic account), it can be used to promote goals or as an educational documentary device.

In the last ten years, I have learned that some methods afford collaborators to revisit these unique field events better than others. Very few of the informants I worked with were willing to read or review my notes, but all of them felt engaged by more explicit visual representations. Video shot in an openly reflexive manner is one such

method. However, I suggest that ethnography must "engage with issues of representation that question the right of the researcher to represent other people…" (Pink 2007:22). Can a video ethnography satisfy the rules of this engagement? In this sense, one of the biggest questions we face is that of legitimation. An ethical ethnography to me is precisely the one that meets many of the requirements of what Denzin has called a critical post structural ethnography, a response to the "legitimation crisis." (1997:7). Further it is one where a stable other and a stable subject do not exist—it is recognized that both parties inform the construction of knowledge and have the power to make decisions regarding "truth". In a PEOC, video serves as method of recording field moments, as a tool for analyzing situations, and as a method for representation. In terms of mining this data, I have chosen neither to code nor to quantify what is essentially a tool for storytelling in the sense that my interrogative or participative mode is conversational. The idea of devising markers such as 'credibility,' 'comprehensiveness,' ethnographicness,' 'triangulation' , SWLS, and so on, would be to argue for a measureable 'world out there' that is truthfully and accurately captured by the researcher's methods" (Eisenhart and How 1992; Atkinson 1992). In this sense, a (visual) text becomes valid if it satisfies some or many of the rules; the author can claim a text's validity and the results can then be taken 'seriously'. The danger with this is that the idea of validity, that is, relevance, or how closely some idea or observation approaches the state of a valid scientific truth, does not make it true in any fixed reality, except the context in which it is being rationalized.

Video and film can reproduce the same misdirection. The power of film and video, and the major reason we must use a self-revealing methodology when doing visual work, is because the stories we tell are seen, and heard, they appeal to our ocular biased

western sense of being real—that they can be seen suggests there must be some truth to them (Ruby 1975; Loizos 1993; MacDougall 1998; Tomas 2003). This places visual representations like video in line for even greater scrutiny and critique than even written forms, because there is sense of chicanery here that can trick the senses of those who watch our films that such things speak to some truth. Speaking of photographs, Barthes wrote that "A sort of umbilical cord links the body of the photographed thing to my gaze: light, though impalpable, is here a carnal medium, a skin I share with anyone who has been photographed" (1984:81). I would bring this observation to bear on film, and onto the video data I am watching in high definition on my 27 inch monitor in crystal clear perfection, which in many ways surpasses the unconscious haptic and psychic power of images; combined with the support of HD quality footage, brilliant stereo sound, lighting, effects and motion effects, this power to trick the viewer into buying into a film's credibility is greater now than ever before. And in my post-fieldwork, I am engaging a whole new virtual field of digital magnitude that extends my ethnographic presence virtually forever - except I see and hear things I did not before, because here in the lab, all I have to do is look and listen and note, whereas in the field I was debating and acting and creating the reality I now play back and forth on a timeline.

Fabian (1983, 1985) had argued for an objective anthropology, and I have some difficulty in accepting objectivity, like reality, exists in any stable manner that we can measure as one might measure the weight of an object. I share with him the belief that "what is performative in ethnographic communication, including aspects that are play-like…," need to be examined, not to uncover the objective value of our work but really to see where outcomes are shaped by the researcher in unforeseen ways. One of the great

problems I confront in my attempts to be ethical in the field, in being faithful that is, to the unfolding story, is to be aware that other embodied senses are working with and against my sight and my intuition. Fabian (1983: preface, 106, 123, 179) argued well that traditionally visualism had placed the eye at the top of the hierarchy of senses, eliminating the place of all others and thereby creating a distance between what one saw and one's self. "Vision requires distance from its objects; the eye maintains "purity" as long as it is not in close contact with "foreign objects." In so doing he had suggested that observability, and hence the instructions of "participant observation" had evolved into a method that replaced the senses and the body from knowledge production, replacing it with signs, symbols and representation. Whether objectivity is possible or not is topic for another paper. If only distance can give us space to know, and immateriality as the essential component of true knowledge, I like Fabian, must query whether we "can give to intersubjectivity a more concrete, palpable meaning than that of an abstract "condition" (31) .

Video has a special place in PEOC for the many ways it contributes to reflexivity and criticality, and for the way it offers a pragmatic link to emerging intersubjectivities. I have introduced the idea of *reflexive time* into my videography. In this case I bring the video we have shot over the years into people's lives at points where they think it is important to understand new life events. In the example below, Brian, a long time participant in my films, joined the church and found God. He felt he had experienced a revelation, a life changing moment. I went to see him and brought the films we had made so he could reflect. (*Ethical-Traces*- www.youtube.com/watch?v=vCIepUlEyeM).

In this experiment, I visited Brian at his home, a geared-to-income apartment in Toronto. It had been 10 years since we met at Tent City, and we had seen each other three or four times a year when I would visit in Toronto. We did interviews and discussed how housing had changed his life. On one occasion we sat down and looked at the cumulative work we had been constructing. Each year, we had made new cuts of old footage to reorganize how these events and new ones aligned in his own understanding of his story. Most recently he had beaten lung cancer and then found God. So many things looked differently to him by that point, that viewing the original *Subtext* footage was perplexing to him. In *Ethical-Traces*, there is a scene where I ask him, why back in the days of Tent City, it took him 17 interviews to tell me about the crime he committed to go to Kingston. He told us he had been to jail, that he had robbed banks, and had reiterated many other stories of a dark nature, which held up to verification and which are included in the film. Then one day at lunch in a nearby diner, a year after I had met him, he finally told us about slitting a man's throat in a movie theatre in Ottawa. "That's the best part (of not telling people everything)" he says, " because I don't want people running away from me, because I've changed. I don't know if I changed for the good or the worse."

When we looked at the footage I asked him why it was he never told us this before, or that it had taken that long – a year of seeing and interacting with him daily – for him to tell us that detail (I say *us* because at the time I was working with a colleague, Jeff Mayhew, a photographer). Ten years later, in reviewing that footage, while seated on his balcony, healthier, off of drugs, healed from cancer, king of his castle and successfully implanted in a conventional identity since joining his community centre and

the church, he sat back and said, "Because we got to know each other a whole lot better, I got to know you better." The simple lesson then, to substantiate pretty clearly what Bakhtin has been telling the world, is that there is no truth except that which emerges between actors in moments of creating such truths. And, if these experiments if I can call them that, with Eddy, or Brian, have demonstrated anything, it is that the truth changes over extension of such experience, through the fidelity of actors reaching critical moments together over time. Perhaps it is the visceral linkage between sound and seeing and the waves and photons inherent to each, that Barthes[15] had alluded too, or hearing one's own voice, as a trace of one's past, or perhaps the conceit of seeing oneself on the screen, but very often seen in video, informants are captivated and pensive about their role in producing truth and fiction. Finally, Brian says, if I may be allowed to paraphrase, that you never really remember the past as it actually was unless you see somebody who reminds you of something, or (and he taps the computer) "you see this, you see it on this … the reality will come back to you" (DS DISC 2, *Ethical-Traces* at 7:42).

Very often it is in these moments that critical self-awareness is stimulated, perhaps re-ignited, but in any event there is no way to deny that seeing and hearing oneself as a critical character – in the sense that Brian was a key informant in a study on housing and that is how he sees himself – on the video – creates an opportunity to remain critically engaged with the truths those moments had represented. Videography contributes to critical ethnography in extremely practical ways, as a way to collect, review and re-visit ethnographic present(s). When people see themselves in the contexts that others perceive them, it often changes the pragmatic deliberations they make in choosing actions towards themselves, others and critical positions.

3.7 Summary of Critical roots to Ethnography

Denzin (1997) argues that beyond positivist, post-positivist and post - modern epistemologies, there is critical post-structuralism (9). The criteria of this approach "flow from the qualitative project, stressing subjectivity, emotionality, feeling, and other anti-foundational criteria" (9). "This is a an informed anti-foundational position. …A good text exposes how race, class, and gender work their ways into the concrete lives of interacting individuals. Lather (1986:67) calls this *the catalytic validity*, the degree to which a given research project empowers and emancipates a research community" (in Denzin 1997:10). And in this, I take it to mean, gives voice to the informant, or the informants culture on equal if not superior terms to my own as researcher. In my transcriptions you will see that I have paid as much attention to mood, lighting, smells, social and choreometric observations; to otherwise engage as many qualities of the moment I am watching and retelling so that it might be more fully comprehended.

Taking direction from various philosophical and sociological understandings of critique, we understand that critique generally uses power to impose normative values on actors, or else equates the truth will power. In cases, it is the application of a criteria to a matter that determines its justness, and in others it is just to look for other ways that things are problematized. Aligned with critical and reflexive field methods, as an ethnographic form, critical ethnography seeks to show actors how reality is constructed by power in order to dominate them in various ways and to various degrees. It can impose a sense of justice such as equality onto a critical situation and then show actors how to achieve this, or it can at times completely undermine a group by exposing the futility or contradiction that their normative sense of injustice inheres. This critical

awareness occurs at both personal and political levels. Eddy's awareness about himself brought about by our work might have led him to unsuccessfully confront his demons; Brian Dodge came to regard himself as a valid political man, a citizen and has since joined his neighbourhood committee, his apartment governing board and even drives himself on his scooter, to participate in housing planning meetings at WoodGreen community services in downtown Toronto.

As method, PEOC also wants to be clear on how such life histories and pragmatic information is arrived at, so it is reflexive to a fault. There is still a sense that critique is thought of a way of setting ways of thinking and doing against one another in order to make a better choice. This suggests that an alternative way can be imposed on an unjust situation that will resolve the issue and that it is critical ethnography's role to be part of the critical process.

PEOC is similar and different. It shares these standpoint and epistemological starting points. It recognizes that in seeking knowledge, it creates knowledge. It is an openly reflexive if not autoethnographic approach. PEOC is more interested in understanding how an unforeseen range of critiques are produced by actors, than attaching itself to the moral imperative of one in particular. In Dignity Village, PEOC recognizes the equal and important weight of various critiques of poverty and homelessness that originate in actors' pragmatic considerations. The conundrum then is how critiques compete with one another and contribute to the crisis of community.

3.8 Pragmatism Meets Critical Reflexive Ethnography

As this is not a philosophy essay, and I am not a philosopher, my explanation of

the term here is brief, and my knowledge of the vast literature is restricted to those aspects that directly correspond to the work at hand. Pragmatism originated in the US in 1870. Its most notable founders were Peirce, James and Dewey (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Accessed [SEPA] Aug. 12 2003). Pragmatism is not just a philosophical way for contemplating the relationship between ideas and action. Pragmatism, as an essentially anti-foundationalist approach to understanding the relationship between ideas and action, and in turn the practical potential for social change, appeals to the social sciences more broadly since the post-structural turn of the 80's (Riles 2003:1; Hamner 2003:1 SEPA Aug. 9 2013; Knight 2002). Its practical extension into sociology in Boltanski and Thévenot's pragmatic sociology of critique (eg. 2006, 2010), and the reason I use it in my work, is its pragmatist maxim of seeking to understand hypotheses by their practical consequences (SEPA "Pragmatism," accessed Aug 9:1).

Hamner (2003) discerns an early American Pragmatism, rooted in Peirce (1958) and James (1977) that imagines acts and social relations as outcomes of knowledge of the "self" rooted in Puritan imaginaries (2002:39). In this inherently anti-nominalist form, reality is formed around concepts that are understood as real *in se*. James had tried to relate vales and morality, asking why things had value? Peirce was more concerned with how understanding ideas could lead to solving problems. Dewey's instrumental pragmatism blended the two former styles as a means to understanding how logical positions corresponded to actions directed at satisfying needs or values. For Dewey (Hickman and Alexander, Eds. 1999) events, moments and experiences impacted the pragmatic orientation of individuals to ideas.

My sense of pragmatism follows Dewey and imbricates with what Hamner

describes as European *praxis theory,* of which Marx and Gramsci had laid out theoretical underpinnings, and whose interest in the moral weight of social analysis, Boltanski (2011) has recently avowed (Hamner 2003). In this nominalist form, the "self" is constructed out of ideas and knowledge that are produced for the individual and presented by powerful ideologies as if they were *in se*, and it is the moral imperative of ethnography in this case to expose the constructed nature of inequalities and domination that such power creates – though there are instances, perhaps where ideology can present valuable ideas too, after all kindness and gratitude can be ideological (Hamner 2003: 38-41; and also - [G] Smith 1991; Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, Smith 2006; Boltanski 2010;). Hamner's major study of American Pragmatism, (2002) sees "American pragmatism as an extended and theologically informed reflection on how a self comes into being through action-molded beliefs and its belief informed actions (2003:28). Hamner argues that self and action are important considerations, to which American pragmatists, notably Peirce and James had paid much attention, but they paid less attention to social change, and so pragmatic views towards social justice were more likely to be understandable in the European approach[16]. European pragmatism was far more concerned with how ideas and actors' orientation around them are mobilized towards socially transformative movements, which is a bridge to my desire to understand critical action amongst the homeless.

Despite the departure in how "truth" or reality is experienced, for American pragmatists or the praxis school, my pragmatic ethnographic method looks at important notions and concepts and the mundane personal and broader social consequences they produce, in the same manner of Riles (2003) and asks, "what would be the practical

consequences to actors if another concept or another way of looking at things were understood as truth?" (Riles 2003:1). Let us remember that PEOC is multi-textual, feminist, communitarian, wide-open and forward looking, often visual in method and representation, and produces field and research situations that blur traditional distinctions between researcher and informant, into those where the construction of the ethnographic relationship as a type of knowledge process in a "messy world" is a main current in the work (Denzin 1997; Riles 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2004). Generalizing to pragmatic anthropology, Riles (2003) adds, "Here the subjects are theorizing alongside their anthropological interpreters, reading some of the same texts, orienting themselves towards similar political, ethical or theoretical problems" (2). The relationship, she adds, is more "one of sameness than difference." Understanding the pragmatic goals of this research, what makes it particularly ethnographic[17]?

Pragmatic inquiry for me, focuses on the "consequences of practical actions" (Barbalet 2009: 200). Revealing the epistemic routing of ideas and values that shape and guide practical action, that is how actors come to act on the basis of beliefs or accepted knowledge, is the goal of the pragmatic ethnography of critique (PEOC) presented in this dissertation. Very often the pragmatic considerations that villagers make interfere with the village's goals as a community, and this *crisis of community* is important to my work, because it was into that crisis I entered, and for which I have been asked to advise.

PEOC asks if the homeless people who fought for the right to land on which to build Dignity Village are to be considered active citizens, in the sense that their critique took the form and language of existing democratic scripts for protesting for change, or activist citizens, turning and twisting, finding new critiques and unusual means to carry

this out. These two positions, set out in Isin and Nielsen's (2008) model of *Acts of Citizenship*, suggest that the activist citizen is the agent of acts that seek new moral possibilities, and that active citizens are caught up in predictable critical practices around which the concept of a democratic citizen might be understood (35-38). Following Isin (2008), I distinguish *acts* from *practices* in the sense that a practice is something the scholar observes and the subject *understands* only as *having happened* (see for example, Foucault 1975; Bourdieu 1972). An act contrarily implies a creative moment in the *experience of the actor* (the individual) which, while it might be shared by others, or experienced in the presence of others, is manifest of the volitions and movement of that individual through a unique space and time. Such acts often represent a break with common practice and therefore are problematic for theories which would try to solely explain acts as the *result* of forces external to them, that is as customary ways of doing things or acceptable in a range of practices directed towards some end. Hence the citizen who exercises critique by voting against their favourite political party is exercising their freedom, but so too is the squatter who barricades herself within an abandoned building to protest gentrification. These are examples of two distinct ways of acting with a "sense" of justice, but which are perceived in dramatically different fashion, the former as a democratic right, the latter as an occupation, an incursion of sorts that brings constitutionally guaranteed rights to shelter into conflict with property rights. The choice made to express freedom in certain acts or practices is a matter of pragmatic understanding.

Barbalet (2009) says,

> The antecedents of action, especially external stimulation, while crucial to utilitarian accounts, are of secondary significance in pragmatism. Pragmatism, in understanding or

forming a meaning of action, is concerned primarily with its consequence or outcomes. It follows that the distinction between thought and action is not accepted by pragmatism as implying that each is a different entity, as in Cartesian dualism, for instance, but refers only to distinct functions of engagement with the world. Finally, as each action necessarily changes the conditions for subsequent actions, pragmatism regards agency, for instance, and also interest, identity, and so on as things that are not given in persons prior to action but discovered, emergent, or constructed by them in the course of action (200).

Pragmatic ethnography attaches itself to this emergent experience as a way to know what is becoming known, and as a contribution to that knowledge. This participant mode of understanding helps me to explore the ways that as a *result of practical activity*, (power) rather than as an ideal conviction that predisposes one to action (truth), citizens can transit in and out of active or activist roles. Moving beyond this apparent distinction between types of citizens, the PEOC reveals actors who reside in both identities and move between them, as circumstances, and the imponderabilia of daily life dictate. The argument is that when critique displaces power, the result is not always a permanent inversion or break with habitus; a new, unjust habitus often results; or to invoke Derrida once again, a new democracy with its own set of internal confusions and tensions emerges. The villager is constantly faced with an unstable set of affairs (a series of tensions between how that world is imagined and how it performs) which means pragmatic knowledge and action must always be contingent.

Similarly, actors do not have to remain fixed in one or the other identity; they can move in and out of critical modes depending on how these tensions are understood. Towards some things they might fight for change, and for others remain solidly resolute. I suppose a good example, and one I return to later is how a few of the villagers are willing to support leaders who promise more computers and better distribution of the donations, but reject any attempt to hold 12 step meetings within the village community.

The former action represents progressive shift in how things are done that appeals to their sense of immediacy and need, and the latter (in their perspective) is an attempt at mind control, regardless of their raving addictions and the practical need for help. The link then to simplify, is that through participant observation, conversational storytelling and reviewing official documentation, and in candid conversations about the village, my research has in an openly unstructured format, inquired about how people see the village and how they might want to see it. This is the pragmatic part, the critical part is that by doing so, we have often reached points of deliberation where villagers came to question just how free and autonomous they were really were – or just "how broken" things were in the village. It is on the basis of this knowledge that in my conclusions we will see how activist and active members of the village diverge on appropriate means to securing the community's future.

3.9 Summary

Ethnography taken in broader terms than its roots in anthropology, that is a something more than merely *writing culture*, terms that encompass the various ways that it is embraced by the social sciences, has a variety of practical implications for doing research, shaping communities and creating/disseminating knowledge. This argument suggests that the ethnographer has what should be an explicitly important role perhaps to be understood from Shragge (2003, 2013) as a type of community organizer – an outsider with certain organizational and planning skills dedicated to the community's goals - and that this role has very specific ethical and practical implications that I discuss. As a sort of response to Denzin's (1997) call for a qualitative method of inquiry for the 21st century,

which is both feminist, communitarian and also seeks social justice as an end, PEOC as presented herein, must address its practical implications for the communities in which it is practiced. As both a method of "writing" about culture, sharing how this representation was derived, and of revealing to participants how their choices are socially constructed, this dissertation is critical, pragmatic and ethnographic.

Summarizing Hamner and Riles together, I argue that pragmatic ethnography of critique bridges important philosophical alignments between phenomenology, practice theory, acts and post-structuralism with specific practical means to address critique as a form of power (Geertz 2000; Riles 2003; Rabinow 2003; Foucault 2007). The ethnographic approach taken in this research seeks to attach meaningful social critique to moral positions; as an indictment of structural and social injustices, and as means to understand how self-knowledge and discursive practices socially construct systems of domination and venues for emancipation. This is not to say that critical actors do not form their own valid critiques. I am specifically interested in recovering these by talking about pragmatic issues. Rarely, however, have the homeless participants in this research been asked to conscientiously engage in performances that debate and critique theirs and other positions of a crucial nature to the stability of their community. Following Mosher's long term, video-supported community psychology of the village, which was completed during regular and intensive (non-resident) visits to the village during 2002 - 2009, my research was literally an invitation to villagers to participate in a pragmatic and critical way.

If the work I am proposing is pragmatic in the sense of understanding how ideas shape critical actors, at two levels; the mundane and the social, and if I am a critical actor

and an ethnographic resource in the sense I have argued, then it is incumbent upon me to provide the context of my critical attitude as well. The next chapter provides a fairly tight historical account of my personal history, the work I did, the classic literature that has informed me along the way, and the origins of my current thesis. My days in rehab from booze and drugs taught me a great deal about how homelessness and recovery are related, and also the myriad origins of homelessness here in Canada in particular, but as well in the US where I did my later fieldwork. Unlike the industrializing world, where the massive displacement of rural peasants to the margins of urban metropolises has created shantytowns with millions of residents[18], in the West, great concern attaches to even small groups of tents in parks, or people camped out in cars over night. In a global economic system that produces poverty in order to generate wealth, the fear of these small spatializations is dramatic in the west because of what it foreshadows: total systemic collapse and chaos. Toronto was not ready for a shantytown, but events in Portland concomitant with those I experienced in Toronto, were conditioned by history differently. My journey from rehab, and my fieldwork on the streets of Toronto generated my insight to the critical nature of Dignity Village. In as much as the next chapter serves as an ethnographic account of my fieldwork and experience in Toronto and on the streets, my goal in presenting this is to use that experience as a way of establishing the continuity of important themes in homelessness research and also to how I have come to imagine intentional camps.

Endnotes - Chapter Three: Pages 98 -147.

[1] Cort-Haddon's "Torres Straits" visual ethnographies are amongst the earliest of their kind.

[2] The ultimate fieldworker – come - armchair anthropologist and father of Kinship studies in the west.

[3] According to most, the founder of participant observation

[4] Perhaps the most famous American hobo who starred at the Chicago school.

[5] The traditional period is marked by the expanding of the range of anthropology to distant lands between 1900 and 1940. Anthropologists in the field were concerned with providing objective, systematic and descriptive accounts of "other" cultures, often described of in terms of being foreign, rowdy, un-civilized, ill mannered and strange. Malinowski especially is well known for his derogatory commentary on the uncivilized and un-reciprocal relations he had with Tobriand Islanders. (In Geertz 1988:73-74; Malinowski 1967). The traditional stage is marked by four beliefs commonly associated with colonialism: a commitment to objectivism, complicity with imperialisms, belief in monumentalism and a belief in the timelessness of the world under observation. Since then all of these positions have been derided and placed within the context of a science emerging through colonialism into a post colonial stage (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Geertz 1973; Marcus and Cushman 1986).

[6] We still need to make notes, have ideas, conceptualize and organize information that is strange to us. In this traditional period, while anthropology was carving out traditions for dealing with distant others, Chicago School sociologists were negotiating a marriage between the textual novel and the science of social problems (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 16). In the interpretive method which emerged out of urban sociology in the traditional period, the sociologist-come-author has authority over the telling of the life-stories of challenged people, the unemployed, the hobo, the poor person driven from their home during the depression. Social problems become inscribed by the structure of the classic "morality tale: being in a state of grace, being seduced by evil and falling, and finally achieving redemption through suffering" (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 16).

Out of this romantic period of exotic others, troubled moral characters and noble researchers, qualitative methods enters the *modernist second phase*, which ran from the second world war, until the 1970's, though many of its inherent biases remain today. Encouraged by new ways of looking at the world through the lenses of critical theory, phenomenology and feminism, attention turned to deviance, social control and social justice. The construction of reality and the peeling back of layers of structural deception to reveal the hidden mechanisms of social control, through ritual or through systems of law, marks a basic unification of social sciences that increasingly become attuned to the deceptive and repressive aspects of structure and culture (Derrida 1976; Bourdieu 1977 1972; Geertz 1973; Becker 1961; Goffman 1959 1963). While this period saw the explosion of qualitative techniques of measurement, including structured and semi-structured interviews, the statistical analysis of words and phrases to reveal causal narratives in oral histories, it also presented the researcher as the guardian of self and

society, as the legitimate authority on and savior for the villain and the outsider (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 16 -17).

[7] The beginning of the crises of representation for qualitative research was the publishing of Geertz's *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (1973) followed by *Local Knowledge* in 1983 (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 16). Coining the term *thick description* in the process, he argued that all anthropological texts were interpretations of interpretations and that the goal should be to make sense of local scenes by looking deeply into the constructed nature of values and customs (17). In this the third, *Blurred Boundaries* stage, post-structuralism, deconstructionism, ethnomethodology, ritual theories of drama and culture emerge, but the distinctions between their theories and methods become less distinct (Foucault 1973 1975; Derrida 1976; Barthes 1972 1975; Habermas 1970). The place of the researcher's voice and the traditional subject are completely destabilized by the questioning of the authority of the text, and the suggestion that beneath communicative acts are assumptions and value judgments unknowable by traditional modes of observation.

[8] As David Howes (2011) offers, "the practice of fieldwork is integral to modern anthropology. The origins of the practice date back to the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait of 1898" (1). Fieldwork was thereby inscribed in anthropology as new way of doing the work of the anthropologist; it was a rupture with the armchair anthropology that preceded it. As emblematic of the new anthropology as the Torres expedition might have been, it was presaged by fieldwork undertaken by E.B. Tylor in Mexico in 1856, and Lewis Henry Morgan amongst several Native American groups in 1861 from whom he derived his classic work on kinship The ethnologies of Tylor and the kinship studies of Morgan were inspired by prior "field" experiences, but much of their most influential work was not the result of fieldwork; it was based on the second hand observations of travellers to distant cultures, mostly missionaries, soldiers and explorers, and hence is referred to as armchair anthropology. One can only imagine the inspiration they derived from their prior journeys; still they are often recalled for being successful *armchair ethnologists* rather than field ethnographers. The fact that much attention is paid to the importance of fieldwork and to distinguish this from other forms of ethnographic inquiry, exemplifies a certain Cartesian anxiety within the social sciences; a need to be as real, as close to the truth, and as systematic as other sciences. If the last 120 years of social science can be defined by any singular drive, it is towards a means of transmuting culturally variable participant experience into specific categories of authentic knowledge. That is; ethnographers have been relaying their experience in the field through the idiom of their respective schools, as a sort of truth presentation that is superior to observations about culture made through second-hand references.

[9] Discussed in the next chapter thus, 'Ethnography, from the Greek, *ethnos*, and *graphos*, quite literally, means *writing people*, or later, as, "writing culture Even if one might argue all texts and all image systems contain information of ethnographic value, that does not make the project to which they are attached, inherently ethnographic. For

something to be ethnographic, it must explicitly have the goal of examining culture and or social relations.

[10] There is a distinction and an alliance to be made here between critical ethnography and political activism ethnography. Taking Carspecken (1996) as an example of the former and George Smith (1990) as an example of the latter, I want to argue that the eighth moment requires finding ways to align practices that serve to the ultimate end, that is being critical and having effect. Towards this end, both critical and political activism ethnographies conjoin in the field as part of practical critical ethnographic processes.

Carspecken's (1996) critical ethnography is often cited as a model for undertaking critical ethnography in small groups.

[11] Note that Lather is rather more harsh on reflexivity as an ethical mechanism, largely because of an ongoing beef with Foley (2002) who was hard on her own deconstructionist perspective. I understand reflexive writing and filmmaking have built in power dynamics; one does the best one can to expose how decisions and edits and conclusions are drawn.

[12] Of course much of my research was with non-villagers, or with homeless people from other sites. The same consideration apply here.

[13] http://www.cbc.ca/thesundayedition/documentaries/2012/09/30/1971-kingston-pen-riots/ April 17 1971.

[14] In traditional textual ethnography, reflexivity is situated in the investigator's experience in several ways. First, in choosing the "field", the object of the investigation, the investigator brings personal attributes, past experience and perhaps theoretical or paradigmatic biases, and so even before the study begins, the results are in part affected by a preconditioning of "choice" (Hirschkind 1994).

Malinowski's *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, (1967), published long after his death, reveals a troubled young man very much in touch with the prejudicial and emotional eddies of his brilliant mind while he was in the field. The diary, though self-reflective and quite disturbing in places is a good example of an ethnographic tool which helps to ameliorate the perversion of one's point of view by allowing for the modifying influence of the interpenetration of others into the self, by affording the investigator a (textual) tool to keep track of why and how his feelings or thoughts might have influenced a finding or an opinion. In this sense, one can trace the critique of the investigator with the others he encounters and thus the reflexive nature of his findings reveals itself to us.[14]

Brigg's (1970) *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family* is an excellent example of "constant self-reflective" ethnography. Her thoughts, ideas and interpretations are examples of applied reflexivity and in many ways are as interesting as

the ethnography itself. Salzman points out that in this case the anthropologists may have been too included in the work, but that this self-inclusion in itself has value (2002:807).

Later important works like Bourgois' (1995) *In Search of Respect, Selling Crack In El Barrio* and *Righteous Dopefiend,* (Bourgois and Schonberg 2010) emerged as excellent examples of solid fieldwork with a highly reflexive methodology yet fully devoted to linking important theoretical and structural models with the potential of changing policy initiatives. While the ethnographies are not critical per se, in that they are not attached to social movements, they inhere the basic critical goal of revealing the systems of domination that create grave issues of social injustice. In *Righteous*, especially, the author Bourgois, and the photographer, Schonberg develop a visual ethnography that presents the narrative as a story situated in debates about symbolic and structural violence, and places the lives of addicts within the context of a continuum of violence that " spans structural, symbolic, everyday, and intimate dimensions" (Bourgois 2001).

Bourgois' work is critical as a moral form of ethnography in that it exposes the way poor people and junkies experience a certain structural and symbolic violence, and ties this in nicely with state policies life on the ground. But it is not a case where the work is attached literally to an emancipatory or rehabilitative project. Recognition of the importance of the asocial, the mundane and the hidden forces of culture requires that investigators adopt a closer role, and in "entering" the field in order to understand it, it has become essential to understand who we are as we enter, and how we are profoundly altered by doing so (Hirschkind 1994; Rabinow 1997).

[15] In Camera Lucinda (1979) Barthes explores the physical connection between photons and images and the organs of sight-, which are interconnected, by vision, touch and mind.

[16] Of course from this perspective, American pragmatist come to judge or understand the actions of people on the basis of religious penetration of systems of meaning, ethics and action are aligned with Protestant work ethics and ideals. I am less concerned with these religious ties to the approach, than I am to other ties that might be said to be of similar value: the US, American Democracy: liberty and freedom, which one might argue stem from religious practices of the colonialists, but I do no t address here. See Hamner (2003: 40-41).

[17] I have already describe it thus: Ethnography, from the Greek, *ethnos*, and *graphos*, quite literally, means *writing people*, or later, as, "writing culture. What separates traveller - writers from the status of ethnographers is that ethnography refers to a systematic analysis of people and customs, usually presented in a written text (Merriam Webster Dictionary 2011).

[18] Well-documented, but especially so in Davis 2006, *Planet of Slums*.

Chapter Four: An Auto-Biographical, Autoethnography

Autoethnography: A form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context. It included methods of research and writing that combine autobiography and ethnography. The term has a dual sense and can refer either to the ethnographic study of one's own group(s) or to autobiographical reflections that include ethnographic observations and analysis (Reed-Danahay 2006).

4.1 Introduction: Continuity, Literature Review and Shifting Orientations

In this chapter, I begin with a quick contextualization of the reflexive and qualitative approach I take. Mills' (1959) suggestion in the *Sociological Imagination* to contextualize the lives we study in their broader terms of experience mirrors the need for ethnography done within our own cultures to reflect those contexts in the life of the researcher cum participant/organizer (Strathern 1987; Hastrup 1992; Oakley 1992; Fabian 2001; Gallinat and Collins 2010; Rapport 2006). A certain autobiographical context is required to situate the work we do and to expose emotional, deliberative and experiential knowledge of the field before "entering" it as a way of understanding how representations are colored by this past experience (Collins and Gallinat 2010).[1] As Collins and Gallinat (2010:9) point out, in order to make the identification of inclusion, there is need to understand the degree to which an ethnographer can claim membership in the groups studied on the basis of how knowledge of the self is equally obtained. So, I offer a reflexive history of my experience with addiction, recovery, homelessness and early fieldwork on the streets of Toronto. Insomuch as the ethnography here was done in cities and nations that I call home, and with people for whom I establish having had a deep and uniting camaraderie, as members of a tangible and imaginative community, there is no way to separate out my self from the "traditional" others in this work. We are each elements of this equation and the transcripts you will read speak to the dialogic

manner in which our conversations turned into moments of critical awareness, and united with other conversations as part of a very organic field experience (Bakhtin 1982).

Strathern (1987) recognizes the likelihood that a greater degree of reflexivity will occur in anthropology done at home, or what she has called auto-anthropology but she suggests that ethnographers claiming sameness is an ethical conundrum bordering on what I interpret her to mean, as *manipulation*. Gallinat and Collins do not agree, suggesting first, that the autobiographical ethnography to which Strathern refers is different than those where the ethnographer is a resource with others. Ethnographies in this perspective, where the self is the only resource, are essentially unethical, and researchers understood to be insiders where there sameness is a conjoining element of the research can and do gain access to information that often is missed by other approaches (2010:7-11).

Here, I first argue briefly for a personal and subjective criticality used by Mosher (2010) in her important and sincere studies of the village, and by me in my dissertation work, both at Dignity Village and in my earlier research in Toronto that tries to understand the world of those with whom we create ethnography as part of our own world, and hence, to elaborate on one means to confront both in a critical manner. Then I discuss my own journey out of homelessness and addiction as a resource that benefitted from and was indispensible to my work on Toronto's streets. This is followed by an historical account of how my work in screenwriting and visual documentary production led to the early video projects on the streets of Toronto where I cut my teeth as it were with homeless people. I was hired to do this work because of my academic training in sociology, my recovery from addiction and homelessness, and my ability to generate field

relationships with people sharing those same problems. I then begin to follow the evolution of my questions and inquiries as a sort of historical journey of the contexts of homelessness in the US and Canada during this period. I introduce the people I met and notes I made, and various literatures and other documentation used in my earlier fieldwork that shaped the major research questions for this dissertation.

Importantly, the practical aspect of what I am proposing is that it is possible to look at social problems through various lenses, and part of the critical nature of this ethnography is to discern what best situates the inquiry in conceptual and theoretical footings that bring forth an actor capable of and motivated towards critical action in matters of social justice - in this case, the rights of the homeless to housing. In trying to understand the tendency of activist citizens to be converted into active citizens; that is to lose sight of the critical ethos in favor of compliant democratic practice, I then establish how the researcher might have a role in fermenting a critical disposition in the communities where we do research.

I then look at the disadvantage to thick description as Geertz (1973) had imagined it to treat the subject of street homelessness from a purely quantitative point of view, trying to gauge how many, what age, and where they are, for example. Such data are essential for calculating how many housing spots are needed, or how many loaves of bread, and such, but rarely address how the homeless might help themselves in unconventional ways, and perhaps most importantly, these data are hard to work with because they are constantly shifting and contested by those who produce and use them. From a very early point in my research I understood that whether or not two or five thousand people were homeless in Toronto on a given night, was important for planners and program

administrators with a need to deliver services, but for me, interested in understanding what street life meant experientially, such numbers were largely irrelevant. I was well versed with Wellman's (INSNA 1975-1991, 2005) network analysis, having graduated with a Masters from the University of Toronto, where I studied with him and other network sociologists. As well, I understood the implications of Latour's Actor Network Theory, which theorizes a world of possibility out of the number and types of ties individuals, have to one another (Latour, 1987, 1999, 2005; Law and Hassard eds. 1999; Law 2004; Blok and Jensen 2011). So I do not deny the importance of the numbers of homeless people I study or the relationships they have. Each of the above-cited works will argue successfully that larger number of ties usually means a more resourceful, more supportive network for members of a group. In fact I speak to these ties and affiliations as measures of a kind of street power and sense of worth. The statistics generated by various censuses, street counts, and other measures of the size of the homeless population have their place, but understanding the size of the problem cannot help us deliberate whether intentional communities or shelters are dignified experiences for the homeless, or perhaps better phrased, "what does it mean to live in a tent camp or on the streets?" The underlying question that drove my work in Toronto was what it meant to be a street person, and later in Dignity Village, "what does it mean to be a villager?"[2]

As I was studying developments of homeless activism in Toronto, I was learning about other intentional communities and one in particular, Dignity Village, which had become an icon of sorts for Toronto's own fledgling intentional campers. It was during these early days, between 2000 and 2005 that I began to read literature on poverty and

homelessness again, material I had not read since the 1980's when I did my graduate work in sociology at the University of Toronto. In fact, much of the literature that was to influence me in the 2000's had not even been written when I was learning how to do fieldwork and make social network models. I offer a short discussion of some of this literature. I also discuss the problem with visual misrepresentation and the tendency of news, journals and documentary filmmakers without social science training to argue that they are producing truth, evidence of objective social reality, when in many cases, this was wrong, and the stories they told, were often convenient mistruths framed for audiences and funders. For Tent City and Dignity Village, largely incorrect and negative portrayals perpetuated the stigma of space occupied by poor people and turned public opinion against them. In the case of Tent City, I disclose how this misrepresentation led to its demise; in Dignity Village, it is the battle of representation that it now faces.

Representation is a major concern for homeless individuals and for groups of individuals who make claims. Classic literature on stigma, presentation and image management by Erving Goffman (1959, 1963) Howard Bahr (1973) and Bahr and Caplow (1968), amongst others is still basic reading for those of us who study homelessness. I understand these notions to be important areas of concern not only for earlier writers of street culture, such as Liebow (1967), Ward (1979) Anderson (1925), London (1970 [1903]) and many more, but also as ongoing considerations for intentional communities like Dignity. Stigma, passing, strategies for overcoming, judging, judgment, ties you can trust and a safe place to heal and be heard free of prejudice, and personal empowerment through community are extremely important concepts to the Dignity homeless, and so I discuss some of the classical literature, Goffman, Bahr and others as a

way of explaining how I make sense of some the observations I made about strategies for overcoming stigma in these various periods of field work. Perhaps most importantly, the notion of power is very important to my thesis, and so understanding what power means to some homeless people, how it manifests at personal and inter-group levels on the streets especially, at least in my experience is worthy of note.

Then I argue that in the context of gentrifying urban cores, the stigmatization of poverty has been used as an excuse not only to redevelop run down areas of the city, but also to extirpate from the urban culture, the homeless persons who made use of deserted inner spaces and cheap lodgings. This process was reaching a peak of sorts when I began my fieldwork, and continues in Toronto and Portland as well as many cities. Since there are no longer any cheap lodgings in Toronto or Portland, nor any major city, that one can speak of in serious terms, and since "the lack of affordable housing" is now recognized by federal, state and local governments and homeless advocacy groups alike in both nations as a threat not only to those who are homeless but to millions of others likely to experience it, the relationship between stigma, power and affiliation remain important concepts for pragmatic ethnographies of critique, since housing claims often have to resolve conventionalized stigmatization of the claimants and their just cause in order to be successful. The homeless themselves must first come to understand themselves as deserving and this requires taking action that defeats the stigma of being poor.

One of the most important things to understand about the occupation of urban land by homeless people is that it might take place quietly and in an ad hoc fashion for a while, but once it gathers momentum, once many squatters produce a situation of spatially concentrated poverty, it becomes a political claim, and in all cases where this happens,

Tent City in Toronto, Dignity Village, and Opportunity Village in Oregon, Seattle's various Tent Cities, community organizing by professional activists has been vital to critical action. So I discuss some of the lessons I learned about community organizing by observing the actions of among others, The Toronto Disaster Relief Committee (TDRC) in Toronto, and also by briefly discussing Shragge (2003, 2013) and Davis (1991) each of whom have looked quite seriously at types and forms of locality-based organizing and their strengths and weakness. I want to establish early, that the pragmatic aspect of ethnography in Dignity Village links researchers and the resources they have at hand in a virtual if not actual sense of organizing community. This is not to say that researchers have more resources, but in my experience, participation with struggling communities as a researcher has helped them recognize and mobilize their resources. I am not attaching any moral judgment to this, other than to say that, I have already argued that I believe the social sciences need to direct their collective energy towards critiquing and solving social problems. Later, when I discuss how my research and this dissertation figured into the deliberations at Dignity Village in the last few years, this organizational/advisory role will become clearer.

The review of literature and conceptual deliberations show the strengths and weaknesses of various influential critical positions that have informed policy, and public opinion, leading to a paradigm shift in the 2000's. Limits to and critiques of Lewis' "Culture of Poverty" paradigm are presented to show how academic construction of undeserving categories of poverty served neoliberal hegemonies over housing from the 1960's well into the 21st century. The shift from blaming the victim to recognizing the potential victim in all of us indicates the beginning of a particular new way of looking at

the homeless by neoliberal governments and citizens where not only individuals, but the social system too are seen as flawed. We must look beyond conventional housing and welfare practices heading into the 21st century, since as I show, throughout this work, poverty and homelessness have risen and continue to do so, despite a constant growth of the wealth of the US, and the growth and range of housing services for the poor in the last 200 years.

Federal regimes of government such as Obama's current regime support "Ten Year Plans to *End* Homelessness" because they now understand that housing is not just a civil, but basic human right. It is time we addressed homelessness as the human experience it is, in order to understand to what lengths we as a society are willing to accommodate people in need, and whether the accommodations we set out in policies and programs meet these actual needs. One of the benefits I have had, one might say, is that I have been working on the streets, in the shantytowns, in laneways, mental wards, housing projects and shelters for over a decade so I have been able to see various ways that homelessness is experienced, overcome or endured, and this knowledge, and the way it has influenced my points of view on the village needs to be entered into this record because it reflects the subtle extension of these paradigm shifts over three decades into the critiques we will encounter in the village over the years. So from this point on, let us agree that whatever critiques are generated by the village as a collective, or by independent villagers, are to be understood as responses to or affected by the knowledge produced about housing and homelessness by imaginaries outside of the village; the federal government, the state, the city, the public, organizers and opponents each plays a role in creating knowledge that impacts the identity of the villager.

Having discussed my work on the streets of Toronto as a literal course towards knowing homeless people who shaped my understanding of street poverty and community building and critiquing certain readings that inform my present work, in the last section of this chapter I briefly discuss the current context of my work, the choices I have made to reimagine certain critical positions, and offer a brief reiteration of the broader context into which this research is continuously reconfigured. My early academic treatment of the village within the model of *Acts of Citizenship* has led me to interrogate critique and critical action as means of understanding what an active or activist citizen might look like in real life. One of the problems of doing pragmatic work, is that while the work might never end, the conditioning variables are often in flux and this makes it difficult to draw clear logical statements of even imagined reality. In the last month alone, while I was revising this chapter and as recently as July 12, 2013 new laws and by-laws have been introduced in Oregon and Portland about the rights of the homeless that have impact on how villagers now see themselves in terms of their rights and freedoms. I explore these at length in my conclusions, but it is important to understand that pragmatic ethnography of critique must pay attention to how these broader and powerful centers of knowledge construction create critiques into which homeless citizens find various degrees of alignment. Since these external categories are shifting, the critical alignments do as well, and so the work of understanding how homeless people in Dignity Village make choices to act or not, is quite challenging. These are precisely the problems that Latour (1993, 2005) cried out against, and Bakhtin (1993, 1982) had explained was a problem with "re-presenting" lived experience.

It should be noted that while a vast amount of literature exists about homelessness, there is a negligible amount devoted to tent camps and shantytowns in North America. Many discussions look at the streets and housing as two dimensions of chronic homelessness, but the shantytown or intentional community is only currently being addressed in systematic studies because it is only recently that they are being seriously entertained by local governments as experimental alternatives to existing services.

4.2 Researchers and Commitment to the Field

In *The Sociological Imagination* (1959) C. Wright Mills, expressed the need for social scientists to remain in touch with the values and senses that frame their perspective and the perspective of those they studied. Without understanding the values on which such orientations are premised, the individual in society and the scholar each are vulnerable to psychologisms and therefore vulnerable to domination by power structures. Hence later in the book he sets out a model for sociology by which he emphasizes the need to integrate biographical, social, historical, economic and political values of individuals into their "social milieus" on which discussions about society at large are set (1959:64-68). It is on this reflexive awareness of the conditioned structure of my inquiries as they relate to this dissertation that I offer this somewhat autobiographical introduction to my research. In this section I indicate how my research interest formed out of my own addictions and homelessness, early research in my home city of Toronto, and in relation to emerging themes in the literature on poverty and homelessness at those times.

It is also on this reflexive ethnographic premise that a participatory research approach had been taken in Dignity Village, by Mosher (2002-2010), which has constituted a main archival resource since 2003 in the research for this dissertation. In each case, participant observation has been based on a conversational style of inquiry and the production of videos and also my photo-essay monograph about the village, *Dignity in Exile…*(2012), that asked villagers who wanted, to look at their values and choices and how these had impacted their roles and relationships within that fragile community. Mosher's work produced a ten-year long video record of life in the village, plus, and importantly for this dissertation since I refer to it often, an introductory video to the village, which has been incorporated into its village intake procedures.

Neither Mosher's nor my interest has been to merely describe a community that has so often been poorly described. Erroneous articles in the Oregonian Newspaper and other right of center press often criticize the village for the drug use and poor organization that are blamed for the squalor of the community. Various other articles and photo essays by engaged college students and filmmakers from local colleges and schools abroad have witnessed the village as a unique alternative community (Finley 2003; Biswas-Diener 2002, 2006; Bloom 2011[3]; Street Roots 2003-2013).

However well intentioned or not these other representations have been, they cannot do the village justice, because rarely have they attached their work to the village as a sort of learning bridge for villagers and researchers. Unlike most other work, Mosher's video-graphic resources for the community may have constituted the basis for her dissertation, but her video work *with* the community has produced tools that the village continues to use when indoctrinating newcomers and for informing outsiders who visit (Kwamba

2009 (Disc unavailable but the making of the disc is on DS DISC 1, "Kwamba")). In fact the indoctrination video is a good example of how rationalized attempts at explaining the village often fail to capture the role chaos plays by suggesting there ought to be a certain order to life in the village, that exists in the imaginary of the village, but is rarely witnessed in practice. Even the production of this video by villagers, *for* villagers was a chaotic and trying experience. For the time that Mosher was in the field working on this participatory action, the village as a community was forced to confront its inherent contradictions and problematic social dynamics in order to resolve various conflicts within the village, and between the village and the rest of Portland, as a result of the dynamics created by the video production.[4] During the production, strong tensions appeared in the community between participants in the video and others who wanted little to do with it. There was some debate about exactly how accurate and non-partisan were the video participants. Some of the villagers felt the research was out of place and the role of Kwamba, too hands-on, while others welcomed the chance to get "organized." Villagers came to be divided along ideological and political lines because of the work.

Critical ethnographers discuss this kind of moment often (Carspecken 1996; Kincheloe and McLaren 2000). The presence of the ethnographer in the field affects social relationships and creates unbalanced situations; critical aspects of ethnography in this sense can be beneficial and at the same time hazardous. Kwamba had since moved to the east coast and maintains infrequent contact by email, phone and yearly visits. They remain on the advisory board of the village, as do other supporters, including me. The videos have become important resources for newcomers and recent leadership who have a hard time understanding the interpreting of rules and by laws in the village. Yet as

producers of the ethnographic work, Kwamba is contacted frequently as an authoritative opinion in matters where questions of village protocol arise. I explore how this role gives evidence to the moral and ethical force of pragmatic and critical work in the village in my conclusions.

Despite Mosher's efforts over several years to visually stimulate strong bonds amongst newcomers and long term residents in the village, the mechanisms for creating social bonds had become so weak by the time I had arrived that helping residents to regain a sense of the sociological importance of this unusual urban living space seemed urgent to me and to my first contacts when I went there in 2010. It still is. Given that the village had by-laws, rules, articles of incorporation, established political procedures and judicial rituals and this very complete well scripted intake video, why should the village be suffering from this lack of social cohesion, low morale; why had they developed a lack of supporters and why should they be concerned that their time is almost up? I want to stipulate then, that my role was anything but neutral, that my relationships with informants was both personal and professional, and that the work I produced for this dissertation and the monograph, *Dignity in Exile* is often critical of the village, but in these times of crisis when millions of people are without homes in the US, social science needs to be critical, not smug, about our actions as they relate to matters of social justice.

Recently, Ptery, a member and one of the few ardent activists and I had a conversation where he said that I wrote from a privileged position, because I have housing. He also understood that at some point in my life I had been homeless and a ward of our own welfare state.[5] In this recent conversation I had to convince him that

renting an apartment and owing the bank tens of thousands of dollars does not put me in secure housing. He added:

"But you have relationships that make that possible, right?" he asked. "People out here at the village just aren't willing to make affiliations anymore, and that's what we are working at. And they aren't making them work here either. It's hard to be a community, when people don't trust or cooperate with each other. I mean newcomers just don't have a clue why we want everyone to get out and get involved in the homeless community out there. They just got in! At least now, not everyone is running and hiding in their (shacks) when Brad (the new Chairman) and I (the new treasurer) talk about going to visit Right 2 Dream Too or the Sisters.[6] We have had to really manage that rhetoric so the village doesn't split into too many factions."

Understanding how homelessness has come to be thought in terms of deserving and undeserving categories of poverty in American liberal democracy means recognizing why homeless activists *come to* resist hegemony's domain over the symbolic and structural management of urban space and the restrictions placed on negatively perceived others to establish conventional social ties. If it can be said there is an external position that I place on top of things in my work, it is that resistance over just matters is never futile, but I make no claims over what is universally just. I am not suggesting that this resistance is magically uniform or easily orchestrated. On the ground, in the village, as Ptery's words suggest, the activist actions are as divisive as they are important.

4.3 Roots and a Troubled Past

This research began as a sort of filmic reportage back in 2000; the major questions I am asking now must be situated in the continuum of efforts I have made for several years in the field of homelessness and spatial claims making. Much of my attention has been guided less by theoretical dictums and more by an experienced eye, something that is difficult to find approval for in some academic climes. In 2000, I began

writing about the homeless in a series of fictional short screenplays that included composite protagonists based on characters I met on the street. My interest in this world was deeply personal. It was not academic. I was writing because I had personally troubling narratives I needed to exorcise, themes about my life I had learned of in a treatment center in Northern Ontario.

I was an addict. I have been in recovery for 18 years now, about, four when this research began. I had gone to a treatment center, the Jubilee Centre in Timmins, relapsed and ended up homeless for the second time in my life when I was 34. In the years prior to that, despite periods where I was well paid as an artist and painter, and as a researcher, I was so messed up on alcohol and drugs that I ended up on welfare. I will not go into a "drugalogue" of my life, other than to say that I know the darkness of addiction; I understand the despair of helplessness and being different; I know the absolutely unnerving effect of insecure housing and no income, but I also know that given certain conditions people can recover. One of these is housing. The reason I am most concerned with a mode of qualitative inquiry that can share the misery of homelessness, is that I have slept in abandoned spaces – a balcony somewhere in Toronto with a sheet of newspaper for blanket, so high and lost that shivering in the cold was the only corporeal connection I had to a reality that seemed impossible. The shock of ending up that way was traumatizing enough, and though my experience with no shelter was mild compared to others, it was enough for me to realize that, regardless of the causes, homelessness was a particularly cruel way to almost live. I was lucky. I did make it into treatment.

I relapsed a few months after the first treatment center but not before meeting many people who had lived literally on the streets. In my relapse, my need for drugs was

so bad and my housing so insecure that I was "literally homeless" and came to know many of the places where people slept on the streets, trading drugs at times in exchange for a place on someone's couch, sometimes using drugs to enter the lives of housed people who liked to party so that they might let me hang around and sponge. If you find this information troubling, then you will find many of the stories in this dissertation impossible to read. Suffice it to say that by the end of a six-month relapse, I managed through my doctor, to enter the same treatment center, and following this became a long term resident at the Buena Vista on the Rideau recovery house. This was a welfare-sponsored program for up to two years where men could go to get over addictions – to booze, drugs, gambling. It was in the town of Merrickville, Ontario. It felt much more like a correctional institute or a halfway house than a recovery home one might see on TV reality shows because many of the men who went there were ex-cons, or recently convicted of drug or alcohol related vehicular offenses. These were not celebrities or rich kids, and most of them had been ordered to be there. It was a last resort kind of place, for us all. Our being there was the contingency on which returning to our worlds depended. The recovery process was handed to them – they were remanded to it – as a sort of punishment for crimes and infidelities, and recovery was to give evidence of their commitment to self-govern once again.

On the banks of the Rideau River, in a two hundred year old mansion, the rehab looked like a beautiful colonial building. There were no fences or guard posts. It was not a "facility." The rehab program offered highly structured living; shared accommodations - no single rooms or private baths; it imposed on us daily and enforced routines and many "programs" about recovery that we had to pass in order to stay there. Almost half of the

residents had come there as results of sentencing for DUI or assaults related to addiction, not because they were homeless and had nowhere else to go. Another quarter of the men were diagnosed with mental illnesses of various kinds and placed there to conquer co-addictions and to wait for funded long term care beds. For the rest of us, and the distribution varied as men came and went, the program and rules were preferable to fighting for a shelter bed, especially in January when I got there. For me in particular, recovery depended on my family not enabling me any longer, so I quite literally had no where to go, except to the streets. One of the staff members told me, "The place always filled up in winter, and cleared out come summer." One man had come in late March from the Rideau Regional (Psychiatric) Centre[7], having beaten his father to death in a drunken rage. The hospital itself has a troubled past and is subject to ongoing litigations about mistreatment of the psychiatric patients who lived there. He suggested such abuses went on when he was there. One of the reasons that statistics such as how many mentally ill patients might be on the streets only partially satisfies a rendition of that human condition, is that abuse, and other qualitative conditioning experiences that take place "while in care" cannot be quantified and their impact on homelessness requires a qualitative mode of inquiry. He would sit by the river in the evening, by himself because he was native and the rest of the guys hated him, and he burned Sweetgrass. He was oddly serene. He had to do 18 months sober time at the Buena Vista before he could go back to regular society. Only a few of us were there because we knew we had hit bottom and having no home, no sense of self-worth, some last fiber in us still *wanted* to get it together. I befriended him. If two men had ever hit rock bottom from two very different staring points, we were those: he, a murderer from the reservation and me, and an ex-drug

dealing cokehead from a good Jewish family. Both of us on the banks of the river, me fly-fishing for pike, he, praying to something I will never know. It was at Buena Vista, really that I began studying upon reflection of the days leading up to that moment, the characters of the homeless, especially my own, and it was there where I learned that addictions don't have to cause homelessness. Anyone can develop addictions, but addictions don't always cause homelessness. However, several of the men I met at Rideau, or at recovery meetings had become addicted as a result of becoming homeless for other reasons.

The truth was that many of the men I met, almost 50 over 7 months who lived there, had become addicts for various reasons, some were housed and some were homeless. Most of them had families and jobs waiting for them, and this recovery was instrumental to returning to those lives, as a condition of reconciliation with estranged wives and families, or keeping a job. Transition, it occurred to me meant different things to certain people. So transitional programs were going to have to identify the disparate needs of transitioning persons in recovery. For me, transitioning meant climbing from the bottom, learning to manage my affairs, and other personal hurdles I discuss in another volume - while for others it meant significantly less rebuilding. They had only to learn not to drink or drug, because their lives were otherwise intact.

Remember, the men in that home were not there because they were homeless. This was not transitional housing per se. We were there because of various addictions. It was a recovery house that gave men time to form an aftercare plan, which for those of us with nowhere to live, normally included some kind of housing which might be transitional or permanent. At the time, and today, transitional had meant part of a

continuum of housing into which one entered after leaving Buena Vista. Usually, for those of us without homes to go to, this included treatment and recovery, managed conditional welfare supported housing, and then regular market rental units. However, very importantly, it should be noted that most of the men there potentially had homes, and normal lives to return to, but that they were in jeopardy of losing all this because of addiction. The several literally homeless men there, including me, had no alternatives, but the streets. It seems almost redundant to suggest that all the homeless men I met there were addicts, and some were cross-diagnosed with various psychiatric problems, because it was a recovery house, and it was *for* addicts. Statistically this seems obvious. However, having become friends or at least very acquainted with them over those months, and also with many of their family who rejoined their lives as they recovered, I learned that they had not all been addicts or mentally ill when they lost their housing. Some had lost low paying jobs, or been burned by the market collapses in the late 80's and mid 90's; a few were mentally ill and their residential stays were terminated by cut backs. Of these men, their psychiatric symptoms presented or became worse when they lost their housing, and their addictions became worse or appeared for the first time as a result of time spent on the streets, or when access to prescribed medications was cut off. They had turned to street drugs like meth amphetamine, crack cocaine, cocaine, opiates especially heroin, and alcohol. All these are abundant and feasible to obtain on the street, whereas the prescribed meds that might have really helped them had been cut off or made contingent on humiliating and oppressive medical diagnostic procedures.

It was not common at that time to think of the streets causing addiction or mental illness. For the most part, the popular imaginary saw matters in the reverse order. This is

a perception that is discussed in due course in this dissertation. Of course some of the guys there lost everything because of drinking and drugging or gambling. The early lesson for me, was that drug use of the kind associated with the streets; meth, sniffing glue, addictions to Percocet and heroin, often occur as a result of being on the streets, as coping mechanisms or as the material basis for dependencies and alliances in street relationships (Bahr 1973; Ward 1979; Bourgois 2003, 2009). I speak to this later. One of the interesting twists on my own perception of this is that where people used to think an addict would do anything to get high, on the streets the truth is that a homeless person might do anything to have friends and company, to get a bed or a protector, or to have power, and this includes doing and getting drugs.

My recovery was very "white" and "male." The only women in my recovery were therapists or drug councilors. I discuss gender very rarely in this dissertation, not because it is unimportant, but because, gender like race, or ethnicity, were qualities I let participants bring up on their own accord. Gender issues appear in some of the stories in *Dignity in Exile*, but I speak to it here only for its descriptive and usually statistical value. Here, let me point out, a basic observation of the streets is that women and children take shelter spots and get housing as a priority; the streets, based on various street counts where users of shelters and soup kitchens are tallied up as a sample of the population, are overwhelmingly male, the population is between 65 to 85% male across most cities in North America (Weissman 2010, unpublished). There were no men of colour there, except for two who identified as members of first nations. The rest of us were white. It was not uncommon to hear every form of racist joke, or to hear misogyny tales well into the wee hours of the morning. I was a Jew. One guy was kicked out for calling me a

"fucking Jew" and threatening to shiv me (stab me with a sharpened toothbrush to be exact). Still, that recovery house was the first time I had to recognize that homelessness and addiction are powerfully if not unclearly interconnected, and that people of all races, religions, socio-economic background and education can end up there regardless of what distributive statistics suggest. As I mentioned, of the 50 men I met there, in seven months, only two identified as non-white, seven were literally homeless at the time they entered, and most had employment of some kind waiting for them as well as housing.

Residency at the recovery house was strictly governed. We were free to leave anytime we wanted to - it was not a prison - and many men who got fed up with the rules did leave, usually returning to unhappy friends or family or to later stages of addiction where they might have eventually ended up on the streets. I did not track any of those men who left the Buena Vista. We heard stories. Of the three who left on their own accord while I was there, we learned that one had been killed on the streets, another had gone back to jail, and the other had died, apparently homeless on a park bench in Thunder Bay, Ontario although this has not been confirmed.

In another volume, I am writing of this experience in detail, and recounting the trials of getting clean and becoming functional. For some of us however, case workers were explicit about our not "fucking up" because for most of us we had no where to go, and getting into housing, finding jobs again and maybe going to school, reuniting with family too, was for us, contingent on good behaviour. This program was in every sense of the word, neoliberalism's answer to the need for a good healthy and self-governing citizen. It incorporated 12 step meetings, demanded regulated living where we each were to monitor others, urine analysis, re-education and therapy, and of the 50 or so people I

met there, when I last checked in 2005, only two of us had remained sober and had got on with our lives. This is consistent with figures touted at 12 step regional meetings and in some recovery literature; for every 100 persons who seek treatment, between 2-8 percent get sober, over time the number drops to less than 2 per cent (AA Survey and Status report 2007-2008).

In each of our cases, we had become successful because certain conditions were in place. First, we had family who supported us during this process. We were loved. And though this is another hard subject for scientists, the power of love trumps the power of denial in some cases. It was after all a well-timed tear that saved me.[8] We had education and skills. While I was there I wrote a chronicle of life in the house and did a very serious study of the Alcoholics Anonymous Big Book (1937) with my sponsor Pat Fortune, who has since passed away. The two of us that embraced the program had hit our last bottom. We each knew we had no further bottom to go, and so we embraced the recovery house as exactly that, a chance to recover. None of this was consciously understood as "an attempt to reclaim our dignity" or as an internal debate over "what conduct of conduct means." These were all very real factors of existence - corporeal, practical and timely matters about how to live, period. Perhaps more importantly than any of this, we had no place to go and this rocked our sensibility. Housing, having a home was central to the imaginary that framed our identity as Canadians, and as men. Faced with nowhere to live, if we continued our ways, we would be dumped into the streets when our tenure was over, or placed in some welfare hellhole like before. As humbling as this admittance is, there is no way for me to prevent its disclosure here. That would be tantamount to a chemist ignoring the observations she made of acid burns she received as a child, or a biologist

who pretends his swim with whales hasn't given his work a certain compassionate eye, or a fly fisherman writing about dry flies, having never studied hatches.[9] The homeless people I work with in my research are interchangeable in ways we will discuss throughout this work. In my case, it was the compassionate eye I developed towards the relationship between housing, home and self-worth that ultimately led to my work. I shared my past with all the participants in my research. This constituted the basis of trust for us. This horrible deficit, these defects of a troubled past, are priceless resources in the work I do.

Most importantly, there is a shame to having no housing that is unimaginable for those who grow up housed and in a culture where the home is the center of the universe. I stuck it out and completed my training. My family had rallied behind me. My painting skills had become even better since I had time to practice free of drugs and booze, and I was writing again. I had come to enjoy the safe, structured life at the house, but I was ready to reclaim myself. My after care plan was carefully constructed: return to Toronto and live at my parents' home, start work as a muralist again, save money, go to AA meetings, move out and get into housing – Don't use drugs, and keep my housing.

In June of 1996, I returned to Toronto where I immediately (two days upon my return) re-started up my business as a muralist and sculptor, and also began writing and reading about homelessness, addiction and poverty. What just a few months earlier had seemed to be the biggest threat to my existence and stigmatized me amongst most of the people I had known prior - my addiction and homelessness – had become my most valuable resource. Combined with my graduate training as a fieldworker in the mid-80's, and my serious contemplation of rehabilitation and homelessness while in recovery, in

the final analysis it was *shame* that provided me a certain eye to the homeless problem in Toronto.

In 1996 to 1998 I lived in a cute studio apartment in Cabbagetown, historically known as Toronto's poor white district. There were half way houses, cheap rundown Single Room Hotels and shelters in the vicinity. It was being gentrified, as were all neighborhoods in the core. I was content with my living space, listening at night to the sounds of car windows breaking, footsteps running from the alarms, and I understood that the suffering went on. I met a lot of guys who shacked up together in rooming houses on Parliament Street, in one section, where there remained such places, and we talked. A few had said they recognized me from the years previous, but they were mistaken, and were only trying to stimulate a sense of camaraderie so I might dispense them a dollar or two. I did very well at business, and by 2000, as the streets were literally filling with homeless people, I moved away from Cabbagetown to High Park, a move upwards one might say, but in the interim I had been writing, writing. I had written a number of short stories and a few screenplays. One of them was called "The Horseman" and was about an elderly homeless man who became homeless after losing his job as a racehorse jockey. His dying wish had been to ride again. He dies, and his street family duct taped his cadaver to a horse at Woodbine racetrack for his last ride. It won a prize as best screenplay at Ryerson University for a screenwriting course I was taking at night. It was black comedy, but comedy just the same.

Except it was also very accurate, even though this character was a composite of various men I had met. I had learned, once again, that the homeless are not just junkies or alcoholics. Some people become homeless simply because they lose their job and are

poor. A man I used to talk with in Allen Park near Cabbagetown, did not drink or do drugs. He had been on the streets for twenty years by then, a defrocked jockey who had been accused of throwing races, and who had never got over the loss of his vocation. It had depressed him so much at a time when depression was rarely discussed especially amongst men, that he floated from park to park, shelter to shelter, adrift in memories of past glories on the dirt. I met a social worker who had tried to get him housing and psychiatric help. He declined these offers. I think in his mind, he felt that accepting such services would be admitting his guilt. In real life he didn't die, though by now he surely has.

In the 90's, if one wasn't actually studying homelessness in Toronto, one simply had no room in their imaginary categories for people who become homeless in Canada because they chose that life, or for those who had lost their job, nor that these kinds of breaks can be so great a schism to some, that they never regain a sense of place in the order of things. It's a sort of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder that we commonly had no understanding of at the time, though today we understand to be a fact about street life. The homeless were the "bums" we saw on the streets begging. That other category of people in jeopardy of losing their homes or who experienced episodic homelessness just was not a common idea to most Torontonians. This imaginary was beginning to shift in 2000 when I approached a contact in the movie industry about making this film.

We did not make the film, since his interests were now in theatre, but the script was good enough that they hired me to write character sketches of the people I was meeting in my jaunts about town for a proposed musical on homelessness.[10] The Toronto representative of this American firm knew me as an academic, had witnessed my bottom,

and was "thrilled" to read these stories, as a symbol of my resurrection. Most of all they were keenly aware that Toronto and other major cities in North America were beginning to present higher numbers of poor people and of different kinds than ever before. He wasn't interested in a head count, "anyone can see how bad it has gotten." As it turned out, he wanted stories like the Horseman, about "people that don't deserve to be homeless." This was the first time, I thought with any serious deliberation, what exactly deserving and undeserving poverty was. His feeling was that within this vast sea of poor people invading downtown parks and churches, there must be more than drunks and criminals (who deserve their homelessness). They wanted to put a face to what was beginning to be Neoliberalism's greatest indictment, abject poverty in the richest cities on the planet. This is when my research really took off.

4.4 Toronto, The Streets and Questions, Questions…

In Toronto, figures of the homeless ranged from 5,000 to over 20,000 depending on to whom one spoke.[11] It was impossible to walk a block of the downtown core without being harassed by beggars or seeing tents and lean-tos in public parks. Street homelessness was not new to Toronto, but it had been concentrated to the Yonge and Dundas Streets corridor. This broader distribution of the homeless across the city core was new for Toronto. I started out by meeting homeless people by chance on the streets, telling them about my theatrical work over a coffee and then with an audio device and a note pad, jaunting down their stories. Those who participated, for the most part, felt that there was a sense of liberation in telling their stories. By the winter of 2001, video handy-cams exploded onto the consumer market, and I progressed to a Digital Video

device. While the character sketches I was compiling were not driven by any particular scholarly interest, the interviews I was getting and the stories I was collecting provided insights into the lived experience of what was for most Torontonians a very distant unlikelihood, homelessness. Suddenly, articles, news stories, old books I hadn't read in years became important to me.

I had been employing a form of interpretive reportage; perhaps best understood through a Latourian lens as a sort of Actor Network or assemblage approach in which I was guided by individuals and their practical metaphysics into the assemblages that constituted their street life, and thereby, I defined various fields that I mined for rich character stories (Law 2004; Latour 2005).[12] If I wasn't aware of it then, this is very much how I write about this experience now as the reader can discern for herself. I was struck then as I am now, as I do work on the streets in Portland, Montreal and Toronto by how the imbrication of human and non-human agents; people, places, things, materials – tough guys, passive loners, church parking lots, road underpasses, food, clothes, a bag of dope or bottle of Percocet – have as much to do with the choices made by street homeless as do the laws and other external contexts into which their lives are inserted by a sort of narrative fate. Even if outsiders could only begin to imagine how chaos is structural, following homeless guys around and listening to their stories reveals discernable if not fleeting patterns around food, shelter, drugs, and friendships, eluding police and finding medical attention. All of these things were easier to do in Toronto than anywhere else in Canada, as nationwide devolution increased the numbers of homeless by cutting welfare and closing long term care facilities. Even Buena Vista had been closed as a non-profit and reopened privately as a Drug and Addictions Center.

By 2001, a visibly higher number of poor people had come from all over Canada (and other countries) to Toronto, especially the zone near St. Michael's Hospital where there was and remains a concentration of detoxes, churches, soup kitchens, community centers, shelters and growing grass roots activism.[13] A period of federal and provincial (state) devolution that began in the early 1980's was followed by a continual retraction and downloading of social services to communities and by then was a North American truism. Toronto, being the largest and richest city in Canada, in due course, found itself overwhelmed by welfare and poor claimants from all over the country looking for emergency welfare support, handouts and shelter. By 2000, it seemed that Toronto was engaged in an outright war on the street poor, as police were forcibly rousting and jailing rough sleepers in various parks and other city spaces. Across the U.S. at the same time, cities were facing proportionately similar high numbers of people on the streets.[14]

Tent camps and large-scale inner city squats were more common in the US than in Canada. In Vancouver, an occupation by homeless squatters of the vacant downtown Woodward's department store was routed by Police after it had gained some momentum in the Press in 2002. Emblematic as it was of a growing problem in major cities, Vancouver evicted the squatters and used their actions to mark the need for urban redevelopment. The building was torn down in 2006 long after the squatters had been routed. Those homeless squatters like most at that time dissipated into the street Diaspora. Simply put, North America was very wealthy, but governments were not doing much for the homeless, many of whom had lost their welfare cheques and their permanent long term beds in special care facilities under Reaganism in the US, Conservative Party rule in Ontario and more broadly across the continent. In New York

for example, an entire community of squatters whose actual numbers were never known, had occupied places in the Con-Eddy service and rail tunnels and had established covert access routes and diurnal patterns of entering and leaving in efforts to avoid surveillance by police. The film *Dark Days* (1999) captures this culture over several years, leading up to their evictions and failed attempts by housing authorities to seed them in apartments.

In Toronto, the street poor had reached such high numbers that, massed as they were in parks and sidewalks near shelters, the police were unable to arrest everyone. In Toronto at least, the common experience was to see homeless people in daylight, in public places, or gathered in long queues awaiting a bed at one of the downtown shelters. We did not imagine they were occupying city spaces; we saw the homeless population as temporary and transient much as we had always perceived the vagrant, even though along river valleys, under bridges and in feral plots of rail land, we saw the relics of campgrounds and fire pits. In my own experience too, despite my time in recovery, I did not imagine permanent claims like tent camps as part of the city. The evidence of a pervasive subclass of the poor was there, but we either chose not to see it or, when we did, elected to imagine it as a fleeting reminder that there were those amongst us who made poor choices. For me it was a reminder of a hell I had no wish to reenter.

The historical record shows that many North American cities were suffering a loss of inner city industries and businesses concomitant with unprecedented rises of numbers of literally street homeless persons (Bahr and Caplow 1968; Caton 1990; Ward 1979; Leginski 2007; Hulchanski 2009).[15] The relationship of the two events was not causal (Burt and Aron 2000 in Leginski 2007). Rather it reflected a relationship between the lack of willingness of governments to spend money on the poor when such expenditures

were portrayed by ideologues as negatively impacting the economy, regardless of its performance at the time; there was also the fact that such empty real estate was attractive to developers and city planners who had been encouraged by the state supported ideology of urban renewal to buy cheap and redevelop broken inner city cores. Chronically homeless residents of downtown, with few places to sleep at night, and with restrictions on daytime occupancy at shelters, were increasingly more visible. One morning I opened the door to my van and found a street hooker with her john sleeping in it. In the spring and summer months, especially, the parks were literally overflowing with people, and downtown office workers often complained to me about having no park space to enjoy at lunchtime. This had led to some conflict as local restaurateurs and community associations raised the issue with police and city councilors. With the numbers of homeless women, single moms and children, and disabled street persons on the rise, the single homeless person, especially if male, was increasingly hung out to the elements and the whims of the police, while these other groups quickly took up the few shelter spaces left available.[16]

The homeless problem increasingly became framed as an obstacle to revitalization of the downtown core of Toronto. And because it was mostly men left out of the shelters, the problem was with " drunk men." Traditionally they had occupied Toronto's version of the "Main Stem," and "Skid Row." At the turn of the 21st century, Toronto's skid rows, pockets of unused or poor quality housing, isolated in small zones of roughly the areas bordered by Broadview and Church to the east and west, and Bloor and Lakeshore to the north and south, were well into a phase of redevelopment. A similar process was underway in Portland, Oregon 2500 miles away. In fact, events in Toronto and Portland

paralleled one another over the next several months providing a sort of conjunctural frame of experience for those of us investigating street poverty at the time. In each of their respective geopolitical territories, state and province, as the largest cities, they were receiving the human fallout of a retracted social services system. Their respective urban imaginaries were to handle it very differently.

The presence of small gatherings of the homeless in tents along Toronto's Don River Valley was not new. They had been there for decades, but went largely undetected. In Portland, by 2000 a fairly persistent occupation of the Columbia River Sloughs by lone indigent men and women in tents and lean-tos had become something of an institution for over a century, according to one man who had told me on my first trip there that he slept in and around the same site his father had used for years before settling in a small rural community outside of Portland. In every major city on the continent, the classic homeless nomad with his or her shopping cart had become a persistent historical form, and urban citizens seemed to be more comforted, perhaps reassured by their presence, a visual reminder that homelessness was isolated to the very worst of possibilities. These other worse off cases, squatting in the fringes rarely crossed our minds (Wright 1993).

It occurred to me that congregations of homeless people by the hundred or more in several of Toronto's downtown parks bespoke the utter failure of one of the richest cities in the world to care for the poor, and then also, that secure housing, once the bedrock of the Canadian identity was being derided by the way governments managed poverty. Newspapers, other media[17] and concerned scientists from various universities engaged in a debate about housing policy and basic rights. I came to questions about how such abject poverty is reproduced over long periods of time in cultures that continue to create wealth

and advance in other areas of medicine, science and most importantly, urban renewal. As a Torontonian, that people should be camping in numbers and in full view of the public seemed urgent.

Homelessness is as old as history. Skid row, which is not a term used much anymore, was the perceptual spatial embodiment of street-engaged homelessness for almost a century in North American cities (Bahr 1973: 21; Ward 1979). It is, therefore a relatively new concept and a North American invention, which resulted from a series of spatial mediations in the city over time, which demonized the homeless man for his role as casual laborer and for his intemperate manner (Anderson 1923; Bahr 1973). As such, it occurred to me then, though only as an idea, that space is what we make of it, and that this usage shifts over time by the influence of laws we create to reign over it. I discuss shortly how the isolation of the poorest men to rundown sections of town can only be understood as a type of social and structural segregation. Not all civilizations have treated the homeless the same way; under the ancient Greeks, the homeless were revered; Zeus was the God of "strangers" (Bahr 1973:20). And wasn't Jesus a friend to all beggars? The poor have always suffered material poverty, and some might argue that they have always been the embodiment of discourses about insanity, crime and all manner of deviance, a theme expressed in many early ethnographies such as Anderson's, *The Hobo* (1923), Liebow's *Tally's Corner* (1967) and most influentially in Lewis' (1966), The C*ulture of Poverty*.

It is important to understand that poverty does not equate with homelessness of the kind I am referring to here. In my early days on the streets, the housed urban imaginary in Toronto understood the street people we saw as a certain worst-off case,

while poverty was something mysterious government and state, or economic forces managed. In classic Marxian language, the poor in general were of some value within the urban imaginary as *proletariat or workers*; the busboys, construction apprentices and factory slaves we saw about town, but these others, famously discussed in Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* (1852), as lumpenproletariat, a miscreant class fraction, were those that we chose to imagine as not willing or incapable of participating in the economy or the social world we understood.

Even today, poverty does not mean homelessness; homelessness more recently occurs to people who were never poor, when economies crash, investments turn sour, or major illness takes away one's assets. Still, in 2000, despite the work of Caton (1990), Marcuse (1983; 1990), Rossi (1989) and many others that spoke to diversifying "new poverty" in America, popular media and urban imaginaries remained fixed on a characterlogically flawed poor person as the coefficient of homelessness and the basic actor in cultures of poverty.

4.5 Classic Literature - Legacy of the Culture of Poverty

Oscar Lewis wrote *The Culture of Poverty* (1966), *A Study of Slum Culture* (1968) and *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (1962). The determinism of this model is something I want to move away from in this dissertation, even though it has had significant influence on how ethnographers examine poverty and homelessness and was essentially, the manner in which common urban imaginaries understood the homeless. Lewis' culture of poverty model works on the premise that through early childhood socialization, the tendencies of poverty are inscribed in the

individual and henceforth into the culture, in much the same way Bourdieu (1972) had later examined the force of habitus on the bodies and minds of actors.[18] The culture of poverty suggests the experience of the following:

(1) A cash economy, wage labor and production for profit;
(2) A persistently high rate of unemployment and underemployment for unskilled labor;
(3) low wages;
(4) The failure to provide social, political or economic organization, either on a voluntary basis or by government imposition, for the low-income population;
(5) The existence of a bilateral kinship system rather than a unilateral one; and finally,
(6) The existence in the dominant class of a set of values that stresses the accumulation of wealth and property, the possibility of upward mobility, and thrift and that explains low economic status as the result of personal inadequacy or inferiority (Lewis 1968:4-5).

Lewis' ethnographic realism suggest that there are seventy traits that are generally associated though not in any degree or order with poor populations; these traits include: unemployment, absence of savings, lack of privacy, gregariousness, frequent use of physical violence in child training, predisposition to authoritarianism, inability to defer gratification, fatalism, mistrust of government, and strong feelings of powerlessness, marginality, and helplessness. Lewis was adamant that the culture of poverty was a sub-cultural aspect of capitalism (1968:20). However, his realist approach was compelling during a period of economic prosperity amongst the wealthy in the United States where the image of a "poor" personality resonated well with claims that individuals, and not structural conditions were to blame for poverty. Bourgois (2001) has argued that the continued presence of Lewis' model in academic and scientific discourse corresponds with the historical manner by which others have been treated throughout US history:

In the USA, irrespective of the theoretical orientation of researchers, most discussions on poverty polarize around value judgments concerning individual self worth or around racial/ethnic stereotypes. US attitudes towards poverty are rooted in the country's colonial Calvinist/Puritanical heritage and are exacerbated by the historical importance of racialized hierarchies that have legitimized genocide, slavery, colonization, and immigration control. This helps explain why the culture of poverty concept continues to

generate so much emotional heat while shedding so little conceptual light. The uses and misuses of the concept offer a fascinating case study in the sociology of knowledge illustrating the political interfaces between theory, empiricism, art, and ethnocentric moralizing in the social sciences (2001:906).

The moral call to recognize the imbedded despair of homelessness in American society is quite old. The first major works of note include Jacob Riss' photojournalism[19] (De Pastino 2003:3), Jack London's *The War on Classes* (1905), Nels Andersons *The Hobo* (1923) and later, in terms of the *culture of poverty*, Harrington's, (1962) *The Other America* which takes a stand against poverty by arguing that the state and local communities had failed in a time of great technological innovation to induce any bettering of the poor. These arguments are revisited further on. Whereas Anderson and others had recounted in novel and detailed ways, the ethnography of being poor, and migrant labor, Lewis and Harrington each sought to redress the injustice of economic inequality by tasking regimes and states with services for the needy. However, Lewis' position suggested a poor actor incapable of superseding their prescribed poverty, and Bourgois (2001:904) suggests this tended to confirm the image of an undeserving and pathological poor person, a negative *othering* that resonated well with the "blame – the victim – discourse" so prevalent in the west under capitalism in the 1960's and 70's, and under neoliberal governmentality as it entered the 21st century; critique of the poor that rewards the capable self-governed citizen.

By 2001, on the streets of Toronto, and across dining tables in the GTA, the debate over whether or not the poor were deserving of more assistance was a heated one. The Premier of Ontario had by then established his "Common Sense Revolution" that effectively closed over 20% of mental health long term care beds, and reduced welfare expenditures; he introduced "Ontario Works," a workfare program that required able

bodied welfare recipients to work for their assistance. This position like other workfare policies of the Bush Administration at that time reflected the belief that forcing people to work would redress the psychological deficits of poverty and replace idleness with an incentive to improve oneself though hard work. I discuss this attitude in chapter five as a fundamentally neoliberal conveyance of systemic economic need onto the personal requirements of citizenship. A basic premise we explore later is that the contradiction of having ability yet living in idleness are facets of the undeserving poor under neoliberal value systems.

Bourgois' treatment of Lewis' culture of poverty is harsh as it should be. By presuming domination as the human condition of poverty, Lewis' position invites certain types of social critique, of which Critical Theory and Boltanski's pragmatic critical sociology would be useful, in the sense that each perceives domination as a case where actors are duped or forced into believing what more powerful, and therefore, more persuasive groups and individuals want them to know.[20] Hence, even the poor have historically emerged over time as a group necessary to capital, and who understand themselves as a class whose powerlessness is emblematic of their status (Dean 1991). However, Boltanski, whom we discuss at length later, argues that it is the moral imperative of critique to establish the ways this false powerlessness is constructed by institutions and those who run them, and implores sociology(ies) to take on the moral burden of critiquing towards social justice. However, as I am about to argue, there is power in homelessness, but until it becomes organized, it is victimized and quieted by the way knowledge about what poverty means and how the poor should act, is created, distributed and enforced by groups for whom subjugation of the poor is vital, namely

capital and the neoliberal regimes of knowledge that serve it.

Perhaps this is what troubles me the most about Lewis' work, and any work that looks to individuals and their malfunctioning; it is this characterlogical diagnosis-based analysis that gives neoliberal governance the sanctimonious gall to blame the poor person for a lack of effort, which in cases might be true, but does not in itself explain systemic wide poverty, like the 147 million Americans mentioned earlier. As only one example, my own case presented childhood psychological traumas experienced in abuses hidden in a well off family, but which later manifest a post traumatic stress disorder cross associated with substance abuse, and this despite many years of prosperity as an academic, businessman and artist. It was not a lack of structural possibilities that produced my addiction or my homelessness – I *did* make poor choices. Once in that retrograde spiral of the streets and drugs, matters only got worse for me. At the same time, others I knew who were equally troubled managed to get out of that scene on their own and to become prosperous if not happy. There is no predestined or predetermined effect of socialization on the possibilities of emancipation from any debilitating condition. Should a poor person be destined to be poor by a young age simply by learning it? Should we solve that by changing their thinking then, or by working on the economy and the school system to provide better opportunities? In cases where homelessness is caused by addictions, from drinking to gambling, let us say, the route to homelessness needs to be identified and a treatment based solution presented. In other cases, homelessness is not associated with prior addictions of any kind, and all models of housing, or for understanding homelessness, must address at least these two simple facts. Simply put, homelessness is described as having no shelter, but how that happens is now widely

understood as more complex than the faults of poorly socialized or addicted individuals.

Lewis' work is worrisome because of the emphasis it places on psychiatric interventions to correct the weakly developed poor child; that is that although Lewis correlates the culture of poverty with structural inequality, he also suggests that by the age of six or seven a child is pretty much doomed to being poor, and to pass this on to the next generation, if there is no intervention to redress the psychological effects of early socialization. Ideally this might have benefits, but in a practical sense could never reach enough people, nor with the adequate frequency to produce results, especially if the "corrected" child has no role into which she can transit. What about people born poor, seeking work, but who cannot rise above the limits the economy forces on them? The real key is to produce a situation where children are not born into abject poverty. As a sort of implicit nod to the emerging work of Bourdieu this position supported the contention that poverty is inscribed at birth through the corporeal and symbolic values poor actors learn during early socialization into the culture of poverty. Valentine (1968) was critical of this position as well, arguing that Lewis's observations suggested addressing the characterlogical defects of the individuals rather than the conditions that produce poverty, even if the latter is less expensive overall to achieve. The emphasis on the individual defects of character associated with poverty and then homelessness is rooted in the shared tradition of "rugged individualism" inherent to urban mainstream imaginaries under capitalism.[21]

Wasserman and Clair (2010) suggest, for modern capitalism under current liberal democracy in the "West", the market ideal paves an equal path under fair rules of competition for *all* members of society, and has resulted in a situation where the same

structures that conspire to produce wealth, conspire to produce poverty as part of the natural order of things (7). With Lewis' theory conservative forces in the United States, during the 1960's began to ignore structural issues, which might be related to poverty, and to focus on the visible dysfunction of the undeserving individual (Wright 1997:15). Opposition to Johnson's *War on Poverty* was sufficient to ensure that the field of engagement, as it were, was limited in scope, and this opposition was based on the power of the culture of poverty discourse. The onus of the government to provide was transferred onto the individual to contend with his or her own problems through subsidized education and food programs that might abet personal management.

Lewis himself advised the *US Head Start Program* that provides nutritional, social counseling and other service to children 0-5 years.[22] Bourgois criticizes the effectiveness of a program that seeks to reinvent poor children who live in slum conditions into bright eyed and alert students, by giving them a good meal at school and supports, but does nothing to redress the violence, material depravity and emotional pain of living in slum like conditions (Bourgois 2001:1995). Bourgois points out that much of the negative response by academics to Lewis' portrayal has manifest in a political desire to demonstrate the able attributes of the poor, to otherwise shed this mantle of undeserving character cast upon them in the wake of their apparent "hopelessness." While Bourgois criticizes Lewis for his psychological reductionism, his weakly developed cultural model and his inability to (genealogically) imbricate economic, gender and ideology and culture, he is more critical of the subsequent attempts by some academics to look past the intolerable violence and self-destructive behaviors that Lewis discusses as being universal and inevitable, and, which Bourgois knows from his in-depth

field experience are all too real (Bourgois 2001; Wagner 1993; Harvey and Reed 1996). These features of the poor life are empirically valid. They are the sort of symbolic and structural violence that Bourgois speaks to in his current work (2009)[23], by bringing many of Bourdieu's ideas to bear on ethnography of heroin injectors in San Francisco, and are discussed later in this dissertation. Whether it takes the form of spouse or child abuse, violent assault or self-abusive addictive behaviours, or more aptly for this dissertation, of people governing themselves in slum like living conditions, "none of the behaviours or personalities described by Lewis, should shock anyone who is familiar with everyday life in the US inner city (Canadian) or Latin American shantytowns" (Bourgois 2001:905).

In much the same way that Moynihan (1967) had pointed to the failure of Black patriarchs to carry the burden of emancipating the poor black family from poverty, Lewis' image is that of a culture of individuals predisposed early on by (habitus) to remain fixed in a state of poverty. Bourgois suggests that this seeming morass out of which no resolution was forthcoming deterred ethnography from revisiting the problem of homelessness and poverty in terms that might liberate the image of the poor person and indicate how their potential is blocked by systems, gender, ideological, or other structures outside of their own experience; to assert the ways the poor are deserving rather than at fault, always. Furthermore, such explication suggests targets for a pragmatic ethnography that seeks to understand the power of critique in poor communities fighting for rights. Bourgois notes:

> From a theoretical perspective, the legacy of the culture of poverty debate has impoverished research in the social sciences on the phenomenon of social suffering, everyday violence, and the intimate experience of structural oppression in industrialized nations. Most importantly, by remaining mired in debates driven by identity politics, researchers have minimized the painful experience of day-to-day survival among the persistently poor. Epidemiological data on the associations between social class

interpersonal violence, domestic violence, health outcomes, education outcomes, substance abuse, etc. are simply ignored by most poverty researchers in the USA (2001:906).

4.6 Power and Political Subjects

One of the biggest flaws of the culture of poverty debate is that it completely misinterprets what power is and therefore does not really understand how power might be a useful tool for addressing how to unravel the problem of poverty. This has been a very common problem for urban ethnographies in general and remains so today. By looking at power in terms of its binary expression – less/more, powerful/powerless, dominated/liberated, the popular ethnographic discourses on poverty that emerged in the 60's and 70's tended to isolate resistance in obvious or clearly observable phenomenon such as protest, riot and rebellion - the kind stuff that *active citizens* might do. Hence resistance is hard to find, since these responses are empirically rare. Citing Cruikshank (1999), Fairbanks Jr. (2004:49) argues that this "myopia" prevents us from understanding the ways "in which poor subjects are both *effects* and *measures* of political power, and therefore fully political entities." The basic conflict perspectives had tended to place poor and the homeless under the weight of social control discourses and the exigencies of the welfare state. Their political emergence was possible only in collective or mass revolutionary undertakings. Without eschewing the enormous inequalities that persisted and continue to persist, between the haves and have-nots, an empowering pragmatic ethnographic approach seeks to understand where the enduring source of this power is imagined by the poor person herself, and for communities of poverty under neoliberalism and late capitalism.

For my generation, having been educated at a time when the culture of poverty was still a very potent model, the idea that the poorest of the poor were likely stuck there for good was very common. We pitied them, if not felt completely helpless to understand how to really help them. For me, my own experience into and then out of homelessness and addiction completely shook the foundation of this imaginary. I was lucky in that sense. Understanding what imaginary concepts and systems of knowledge governed popular belief became central to my work.

The more I met people on the streets and did research, it became clear to me that the streets were far more organized than I had imagined, and that several individuals in my work had a certain authority.[24] While the idea of street families, the fictive kin structures that emerge on the streets was widely understood, (Liebow, 1967; Bailey 1972; Anderson 1975) the chronic homeless, the "lifers" had expressed on occasion that the streets were the only place they felt they could fit in, or feel empowered.[25] This we will see is vital to understanding Dignity Village and the shantytown community model later because for some, this is the first spatialization of their poverty in which they found their voice and a sense of power. Material needs aside, there is reason to understand social ties, engagement and feeling socially relevant, that is, as having personal power among others as part of people's goals from housing. Lisa Larson who has lived at the village for close to four years with her husband Scott has often commented that living in the village was the first time she felt she could speak freely without being judged, and further, that it was the first community that had offered opportunities to use her voice. While she and Scott imagine moving back into conventional lives, reuniting with friends, (her children) and family, they are not anxious to leave the safety and the sense of the community that the

village offers.[26] They are content to live there, despite the often unhappy mood of the place, because they feel they have influence over the governance of the village and, therefore, over themselves. In June 2013, she led am impeachment of the CEO and took his place as leader of the village. Not every poor person wants to live with yuppies in neatly appointed neighborhoods. That is a sort of ethno-centric middle class delusion. At the very least, the village model, and this extended to Tent City, had the promise of uniting people with many conflicting attitudes and personalities under a common locality based cause and to establish socially dignified roles therein.

Back in 2000-2001, however, with disturbing numbers of visible homeless on US and Canadian city streets, it was easy for governments to identify this group as "the poor in general", which in fact left hidden the thousands of others who lived in dubious housing and poverty off the streets. The structural conditions producing poverty, and the real dimension of poverty and poor housing remained hidden in the bodies of the visible poor on the streets or isolated in welfare programs. Even under Johnson's War on Poverty, policy measures directed at encouraging broader participation by the disadvantaged in the labour market and access to education were suggested as means to restore "victims" to the status of functioning citizens. But concrete and effective plans to do so failed to materialize (Valentine 1968; Rainwater 1968; Lewis 1968; Harvey and Reed 1996).

Insomuch as some people are empowered by the struggle of homelessness, I am in no way arguing that street life is more empowering or desirable when compared to conventionally housed lives. I am not a relativist to the point where I don't recognize unhappy people adapting to poor life conditions and expressing it as beneficial. There is

also a symbolic and a very actual conventional disempowerment on the streets that is vital to understanding the stigma that the city social imaginary attaches to *being* homeless in general. Concentrated spatializations of poverty like intentional camps confound this already dubious outlook on normal deviant behaviour. Bourgois' sentiment is exactly that we ought not forget the deplorable human condition that structural violence creates in the lives of the homeless; we should not be distracted from discussions about how to redress systemic poverty merely because a few homeless groups have made successful claims. Being very poor is not only a hard way to live, it is reinforced by the stigma of being homeless that blocks the likelihood of overcoming it.

4.7 Stigma, Power and Affiliation

In Stigma, (1963) Goffman discusses the way personal attributes of (any) individual can be discrediting and the various ways one might attempt to overcome the deleterious social and political consequences of this self and public perception. A method he discusses which has gained a great deal of discussion is "passing". Passing involves hiding the behavioral or obvious "signs" of a discrediting trait; a Satan worshipper wears a three-piece suit to the office, a homosexual hockey player flirts with girls in front of his teammates. Passing is easy if the stigmatized attribute is not visibly obvious. For the cross-dresser, or the extremely poor in their tattered clothes and private appropriation of public spaces, this passing is not possible. Snow and Anderson tell us:

> "Their tattered and soiled clothes function as an ever-present and readily perceivable "role sign" (Banton 1965) or "stigma symbol" (Goffman 1963) that immediately draws attention to them and sets them apart from others. Actual or threatened proximity to them not only engenders fear and enmity in other citizens but also frequently invites the most visceral kinds of responses, ranging from shouts of invective to organized neighborhood opposition to proposed shelter locations to "troll-busting" campaigns aimed at terrorization" (1339-40).

A part of the stigma of being poor reflects the hopelessness and the non-redeemability of the homeless condition. Helplessness embodies the antithesis of the capitalist ideal. In as much as capitalism absolutely requires a scale of economic and power inequalities, the absence of power altogether, of its opposite, dependency is ironically ridiculed in this system, even as it is required amongst some of the population for capitalism to be effective.[27] Under neoliberal governmentality, homelessness signifies a failed conduct of conduct (Foucault 1991; Rose 1999) Historically, social analysis has tended to study neoliberal hegemony as a model of the top-down flow of power where poor people are interpreted in terms of their unequal power relations within capitalism. Street poverty confronts those who are desperately close to it, as a proviso of what could happen, if, say for example, they gave up their low paying labor job.

Massey's (1994) feminist cultural geography, Smith's, Institutional Ethnography (1987, 2005) Wallerstein's (2004) core-periphery studies of globalization and Drache's (2008) "defiant publics" and others have validated studying the other end of the power continuum that is, from the point of view of the less powerful. This dissertation assumes a similar vantage point and looks to understand the ways that homelessness, odd as it may sound, creates certain under-recognized opportunities for empowerment amongst the Dignity Village poor. Conventional attitudes and marginalized ones do not separate along a clear dividing line. There are sympathies towards the less fortunate amongst haves, or those with relatively more than the homeless, that can be mobilized, and in this sense, the stigma and marginality of the homeless become a sort of discursive rallying point for action around more widely held visions of justice.

In the case of this fieldwork-based research, we are examining how activists making claims for their rights challenge the normative imaginings of the urban space of poverty. By fighting for the right to space, a number of issues that condition the homeless activist are concentrated into a neat bundle that fits into rationalized categories of governance that are clearly defined by law and practice, such as zoning codes, constitutional laws and camping or sheltering traditions in local areas. Insomuch as the claim on space imbricates with indictments of the economy, partisan political rhetoric, and human rights discourses, fighting for space is a concrete and focused action where the success or failure of the claim is easily understood by its result; rights to a space are granted or not. Such actions when they occur must be understood within the political and economic context that undergirds the claim and which created power relations that were available to the activist community at that time. While the poverty of the village suggests a position of weakness, the poor people who participated in this research have powerful capacities that are under-realized because establishing conventional ties has been an historic problem for the poor, and part of that stigma.[28]

Power is variously described as the ability to motivate others to do action, to exercise influence in decision-making or to instigate processes much like energy does in the "physical world" (Bahr 1973:29). Weber, who described power as the ability to make people *choose* to do things despite the cost to them, also speaks of the positive status attached to individuals who have power (1946:180). The absence of power can at worst be valued as "none," but the negativity attached to the stigma of being powerless is considerably more than none (Goffman 1963; Liebow 1967; Snow and Anderson 1991; Moynihan 1967). Powerless is tolerated amongst the infirm and amongst infants, but for

adults, the "incapacity to produce results" is rarely tolerated (Hawley 1963:423). Even, then, "tolerating" a human condition or an "other" is hardly the same thing as loving or caring for another. Tolerance implies a recognition of the other as less, and deviant from one's own values, and therefore, as "outside" (Fabian 1983; Brown 2006).

Bahr (1973) suggests that part of the mainstream's stigmatization of "skid row" men was the abhorrence of powerlessness, which is not measured in terms of a void, but in the language, and valuations of the social system of relations in which it is embedded (22). The powerless are persons without relations to others, or those lacking "office" (22). In the context of the street then, the homeless I met were appraised through conventional symbolic imaginaries as powerless and *less than* because, following Bahr, the potential of their homeless affiliations remains undisclosed or underestimated.

Borrowing from Foucault (1991, 1994) who we visit at length in chapter five; in a liberal democratic urban conduct of conduct, the ideas of dignity, freedom and worth are wrapped up in the sense of personal empowerment through good government, and is culturally commoditized in the same way the economic and political individual is commoditized over time through participation in mainstream economic and political structures; though a sense of being deserving is something "owned" by the individual it is a tap root turned on and off by performance of the lived and meaningful life, and thereby satisfies the regime's need for citizens to self-govern. In this sense, dignity and worth, two components of the *deserving* soul, and often understood by individuals as fulfilled by the rights to freedom and autonomy, are seen as rationalized outcomes of social practice and regimes of power, and their absence is the source rationalization for practices that stigmatize others (Bahr 1973; Caton 1990; Foucault 1994; Dean 2010; Weissman 2012).

Powerlessness, then is aberrant not only because it implies weakness, but because it defines the person so assessed as a failed citizen, as someone whose government is flawed; they are different, other and less than, undeserving.

Foucault (1994) wrote:

> Perhaps the equivocal nature of the term conduct is one of the best aids for coming to terms with the specificity of power relations. For to "conduct" is at the same time to "lead" others (according to mechanisms of coercion which are, to varying degrees, strict) and a way of behaving within a more or less open field of possibilities. The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome. Basically power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or the linking of one to the other than a question of government" (1994: 237).

In the social sciences the problem of power can be understood as the main vector in a continuum of debate over structure and agency. One might imagine structure and agency as points on a spectrum where a diversity of arguments on the one side of an imaginary centre places structure over agency and, on the other side, are those arguments that place agency over structure. The imaginary centre is where much of the literature tends to rest; positions such as *structuration* (Giddens 1984) that see agency as the result of empirically observed and theoretically deduced basic structural "facts" like language, practices and ideological space, amongst many others. One might say that the debate really hinges over two opposing views. First are methodological holistic approaches which say that individuals are embedded in social structures and institutions (and spaces) that shape, constrain and determine their attempts at social action (Marx 1858; Marshall 1950; Durkheim 1964; Parsons 1968; Lefebvre 1974; Weber 1992), and in opposition, a second position, that of the methodological individualist that says structures are really an epiphenomenon of the interplay of individuals bound up in structured relations but capable of choosing some things over others, hence the *subject* is at the centre of social

investigation (Goffman 1959, Garfinkel 1967; Bourdieu 1972; Giddens 1984; de Certeau 1999; Law 2004; Latour 2005).

The debate is further complicated by normative attachments to these positions that appraise the relationship between structure and agency in terms of positive and negative outcomes for society. For example, where Durkheim (1964) and Parsons (1968) saw structure as recreating social facts such as institutions and forms of association, and as such as a positive mechanism for maintaining social stasis, Marx (1848, 1867) on the other hand, saw structure as a detrimental force, which placed the majority of society's members at risk of exploitation and oppression. The tendency of oppressive systems to reproduce intolerable conditions of lived experience, and to use coercive force to guarantee this state of inequality, would create an intolerable state of exploitation that would lead to an ultimate emancipation through mass collective action through revolution. In these positions, agency understood as the relative power an actor possesses, suggests that power, or the struggle for power is what makes existence meaningful.

On the streets of Toronto, and amongst the advocates I spoke to, talk was of obtaining for the homeless the same rights as any citizen - a home, a job, medical care and privacy. While everyone knew that capitalism had produced the conditions of their poverty - high rents, low paying jobs, government cutbacks – few spoke of revolution or overturning extant power relations. They simply wanted what other people had, but were lost about how to obtain it. Later when we talk about how two activist factions in the struggle of Dignity Village split during negotiations with the city, this split definition of emancipation will be important as well.

I remember sitting on a bench at the corner of Victoria Street and Queen East, with a half dozen homeless guys. They were all big, tough and experienced street men. In the park behind us were over 150 other homeless people, waiting for the church to open the doors to their soup kitchen. Around 5 pm the doors opened and people queued for the soup and bread. There were only casual police drive bys. Almost every night the robbery and fraud squads would set up surveillance since those were two activities for which some of the street men had been issued warrants. The "beat" cops were around the area 24 hours a day and it became something of a sport, to watch back, taunting the cops with smirks and leers. At 7 pm after the serving was completed, the park became very densely occupied and two representatives from OCAP (The Ontario Coalition Against Poverty) had come to encourage people to join a protest march against police park sweeps to be held a few miles away at Ontario's Parliament. The crowd became louder and I had remained, still seated on the bench with one of the same fellows - we could hear the propaganda and the jeering. Within a few minutes there were a dozen police officers on foot, a half dozen squad cars and four Cops on horseback. "Looks like we scared 'em again," he said. His name was Mike, and we had interviewed several times. In the background we could hear one of the activists on a megaphone: "We can win housing, we can get off the streets, but we have to act together. We have the power." And the crowd howled. The cops looked really edgy, hands on their belts, a gesture to the crowd not to escalate, and the horse cops moved out of sight towards a commotion in the church parking lot. Mike looked at me and he just laughed, spitting out, "Yeah, like *that* will ever happen." I could feel the energy, the force that was there in that angry group. It was pretty tense. The cops kept looking at each other as if ready to pounce on

the group. And then a stream of perhaps thirty protesters left with the activists and marched up Victoria Street followed by the four horsemen, and escorted by two squad cars, lights flashing. The event did not make headlines, or change anything, but there was power in their action. It's quite fair to say that in the hour of the protest, and the time it took to march to Queen's Park, the protesters felt that they had some power - that emancipation needed to be understood as at least possible and sometimes fleeting – at least in the moments we are fighting, the emancipation is nascent, and possible, however unlikely the outcome.

Boltanski (2011:1-3) has argued all sociology can see is power, and therefore has a hard time isolating the conditions of emancipation from rare instances of domination. I don't share this position but I give it some consideration in chapter five. In this dissertation I take the problem of structure and agency as elements of understanding social critique, and that for the homeless, the same rules that structure their poverty also provide means by which to be empowered thorough critical action in pursuit of their rights.[29] The collective action of homeless people is interesting for another reason. It is one of the rare opportunities where the condition that stigmatizes them also grants them a way of participating in conventional power struggles that are essential to democratic participation under neoliberalism. One must ask, is acting in protest marches, or sleep-ins, a break with, understood as an *act of resistance,* or a convergence on *practices of resistance*? I say conventional power struggles in the sense that protest and public marches are understandable in democratic imaginaries about how and where to resist as free (active) citizens. This minor protest was not a militant occupation, a kidnapping, or some other unusual form of resistance. It was quite regular and anticipated, and that is

why the cops were always in the vicinity. This might not have been a huge march, but it was at least to a degree effective at mobilizing some actors, and in garnering a measured response, that as far as we know did not lead to oppression, although that was not always the case. Democracy as we understand it in the West, includes the right to freely associate and to complain about political matters in public. In 2001, most Torontonians had difficulty understanding how "bums" could become mobilized and effective at influencing social change. We hadn't learned yet of the diversity of their composition, nor the strength and importance of social ties in their street groups. Most importantly, Torontonians thought of the homeless as idle and disorganized, and therefore as non-threats.

Bahr (1973) has pointed out that when exploring homelessness as a human condition, the idea of disaffiliation is less primary then power. This is because we "haves" have a good idea of what power is, but we generally do not understand disaffiliation in this concrete lived way. Disaffiliation implies something about how one's life is structured without others or with a limited few, and relates the size and form of assemblages with valuations of love or "belonging" and even power (31). Power is essential to the lived life, but in speaking in terms of the homeless it is prudent to construct these notions of power around assemblages, how they are constructed out of the places frequented, how durable they are over time, because power manifests through (social) organizations (31). It is for this reason, that urban imaginaries resist congregations of the homeless, and the shantytown, even more poignantly than marches and churchyard protests, is if nothing else, a superior example of the spatially concentrated power of the poor. As Bahr points out, the presumption is that, "A homeless

man lacks the power to influence others or to mold his own future. It is an unenviable, and at the same time, a threatening condition. Skid Row, [the streets] is reputed to be full of men in this state" (1973:31, [my words added]). I would add that the view of the streets and of poverty as depleted of power is one of the reasons conventional symbolic imaginaries and housed citizens fear it as they do.

Bahr and Lewis had succeeded in informing many debates about homelessness. Their influence is at least implicit in many works, including what follows. It was becoming clearer to me, the more I roamed the streets that equating homelessness with absolute powerlessness was a mistake. It was really a question of relative power within a system of unequal distribution of resources and social ties that was of concern. And then again, it was questionable, just exactly what kinds of power the homeless wanted. Absolute notions of power, or of domination seemed to be of little use other than as abstract ideals by which to provide an external measure for a condition that is best understood as it lived, from the inside, from within the social relation where it matters. For conventional imaginaries, power is a force that resides in experts, leaders, doctors, parents, clergy, teachers, police, employed and housed people and the bank, and so on. On the streets power resides in the guy who protects his lady, and sticks up for his friends, with the one with a full bottle or a room where people can crash, with a person who earns street credit by never ratting out or ripping someone off (Bailey 1973; Wagner 1993; Capponi 1997; Bourgois 1995, 2010; Weissman 2012). But then again, power can be merely the result of perceptions about others and might have little to do with who they are actually and what they can do.

Interestingly, the homeless person in general, but the street man especially is faced with a unique kind of perceptual dualism. His identity as "friend" or "foe" largely reflects mainstream symbolic norms about night and day, weakness and power, and space. Hence, we can see and value the street person the very same street person, in different ways; depending not only on where, but when and in what context we intercept him. One rarely takes notice of these street people begging on a sidewalk during the daytime, because one is so used to seeing them on street corners in the capacity of a beggar, in a normal state of weakness. The same group in a laneway becomes a potential threat. In public, passersby rarely question that they are anything other than a tragic case or lowly beggars. One might toss a coin into a tattered hat, but more often "others" may as Simmel (1950) has suggested, retreat into a cosmopolitan blasé, or a "Grey Area," to invoke Primo Levi (1986) and manage to ignore such persons. Once again in times of normal activity, the day, we may recognize in their rough appearance, in their swift canter about the sidewalk, in their determinedness to push a loaded shopping cart against the flow of traffic and rain, a sense of the "noble" hobo, and find some peace in the knowledge that these characters are following a sort of urban script, but more often than not we will pity his demise or blame him for it as a means perhaps to eschew any role our prosperity might have had in reproducing it as the function of relations of production we implicitly encourage. Still we generally are not afraid of him under the protection of daylight and in public.

Regardless of how one interprets the street person during waking hours, the same tolerance is quickly discarded upon nightfall. It is not normal for residents of the "mainstream" to skulk about in dark places. The same tragic beggar I gave a muffin to

earlier today becomes Satan's handyman tonight as he shuffles in and about the parking lot as I unlock the car door. These are the people I was meeting in my early fieldwork. Though they may have resorted to hostels or fallen in and out of housing and welfare, they always ended up on the street, this intersection of laneways, bridges, parks and basements. The street came to define them, and under the brush of night, they redefined the street as dangerous. Many of them had criminal records and blamed their homelessness on long periods of incarceration. Many of them broke into cars and went "boosting" – shoplifting, but highly organized and in packs. It was only in darkness that we in the mainstream saw that they had power, all bad, all dark, and all street. It is within the image of this dark power, this propensity to do harm perhaps, that urban planners and conventional citizens perceive street homeless. On their own or isolated to the fringes, they are not a threat to the mainstream in a physical or symbolic sense. Should they group together, put up tents and claim the right to land, the stigma and the fear attached to them by conventional imaginaries magnifies. The concentrated spatialization of poverty must also mean a concentration of crime, drugs, mental illness and all manner of depravity. An editorial comment in Portland's *Street Roots* magazine is a good reminder of how this power has generally unfortunate implications and corresponds to notions of space that relate to the emplaced values of community:

Wendy Says:

May 31, 2008 at 6:51 pm
There's a small strip of city property next to my house where two homeless Vietnam vets lived for five years. The police explained a few times that they couldn't remove the men because the City of Portland wouldn't let them. My brother and I spoke to the vets and they seemed harmless enough and promised never to go onto my property – I was told this was all I could do.

Two days ago, I discovered that the vets were gone and I was stunned by just how

happy and relieved I felt. I'm a single mother with two children. I'm also a caring person but I have an obligation and an instinct to protect my family. I am sorry for homeless people who want shelter and can't find it, but it has been very stressful to have men living so far outside social rules and mores living a few feet over my property line – I didn't realize how stressful until the stress was suddenly gone. It really did feel like a heavy weight had been physically lifted off my shoulders.

Not only was I periodically frightened (why is the tub inexplicably filthy on a day when the windows are left open? What happened to all the tomatoes in the garden? Did my daughter really see someone at the window?) [sic] but I was also very tense when it was freezing cold or pouring rain, even though our homeless guys were campers who didn't want a shelter bed or affordable housing. They had desks and a table and chairs as well as tents and sleeping bags and had been sent to us after living on the property of a Christian church for over 20 years. These men had defined their freedom and attained it. Does anyone have a plan for the campers?

This morning, after two days of this wonderful, free feeling and while I was mowing the city's property, I discovered that a new man has pitched his tent behind my house. He's a foot taller and two hundred pounds heavier than I am. I spoke with him (he's on my property so at the very least, he'll have to move twenty feet or so) and he's agreed to leave by this time next week, but I know another or others will come, if he leaves. It's a convenient spot to downtown and fairly hidden. The fellow said right away, "I don't have to go; this is city property!" It isn't possible that the police are actually shuttling people to this space like realtors, is it?

I've been tense for five years and not even admitting it to myself because I wanted to be politically correct and think of myself as compassionate and liberal but I cannot live like this any more. Should I sell my house? Who would buy it? I won't be able to send my children to college if I have to sell it at a deep discount – this collateral is my plan for tuition and I'm lucky to have it. Plus, we just love our little house; it's the first one I've owned.

Talking to and helping the homeless as part of a job – or just thinking about the homeless from behind a newspaper – is very different from seeing the homeless through the trees in your back yard every day and hearing the twigs snap as they visit their privy. "Fewer police sweeps" does not appeal to me. Each case ought to be considered individually – in some cases, it's appropriate to move the homeless; in other cases, it's not.

The old, dead ideas about fixing the problem are actually painful to hear. Section 8, shelters, low-income housing. All good ideas coming from people who never talked to the homeless people I've known. The new fellow has a beautiful, insulated tent, a boom box, furniture – even (apparently) a cell phone. His new home looks like a studio apartment, and we can see it from our living room window. Beyond it is a road and beyond that, nothing much. It is just him and me and my children.

I welcome advice but I hope any accusation that I am a "not in my back yard" sort of person will come only from people who have homeless people in their back yards.

Clearly then, perception has much to do with how we understand not only the homeless but also the proper space for them to inhabit. When homeless people are not in the streets or hostels, they are rarely understood in positive terms. They are making a claim, taking something, some land, some fruits, they are occupiers and therefore powerful. However some ethnography examines more positive, even communitarian perspectives amongst homeless street people. Bailey's (1973) *The Squatters,* recounts the organizing efforts amongst Rethbridge's (England) squatting community, focusing on how their success with local councils expanded to other locales throughout the country. Ward's (1979) *The Street is their Home, the Hobo Manifesto*, spoke to the unique and colorful culture of the streets and to the probability that the presence of hobos and "skids" was a benefit to the communities in which they lived. Of course, Ward, once a hobo himself was biased. Ward pointed out that skid row men were consumers; even if only of cheap motel rooms and bar room booze. He argued that they provided dispensable labor and did odd jobs; their presence on street corners and in parks wasn't encroachment or trespass necessarily, but added color and vibrancy to otherwise decaying neighborhoods. Though other "pro-skid" positions might exist, I did not come across this particularly positive portrayal often. Bahr's, *Skid Row*, (1973) provides an eloquent spatial and cultural interpretation set in an historical approach to understanding the vital "main stem" in North American cities where street poverty was most highly concentrated. Wagner's (1993) *Checkerboard Square*, takes the opportunity to express the strides made by the homeless to build communities and to fight for their rights. Wagner explored alternative routes to homelessness: opting out, resistance to authoritative bosses, rejection of landlords, governments and spouses. He explains through the stories of the homeless

themselves, that homelessness is not just about a lack of housing or jobs but results from the very structure of dominant institutions, such as work and social welfare.

These views are a far cry from the moral high grounds taken by Ferguson (1911) in *The Vagrant: what to do with him*, or Syme's (1904) *Honour all Men, a plea for the Vagrant*. Each of these establishes a moral imperative which identify the homeless (male) as an outcast and spiritually troubled figure in need of saving either through moral or labor intensive means.[30] As much as Lewis' *Culture of Poverty* is a departure from these early post-Victorian-era accounts, it too, essentializes poverty as a "type" of human condition, that confirms rather than rejects the hopelessness of poverty and sees the solution to the poverty as state, professional or otherwise exterior interventions into homeless subjectivities. As such it invites policies and interventions necessary to rectify a broken subjectivity into a self-governing one as the only means to redress poverty.

Despite some good attempts at understanding homelessness from the point of view of homeless persons, the dominant political framing of homelessness as a social problem affecting a troublesome population, led to the bulk of statistical data obtained and discussed for the sole purpose of driving policies of containment and (ware) housing the poor on the basis of how they differed from conventionally employed and socialized groups, when in fact there are other points of contact between cultures than merely housing or work. The irony is that in either enterprise, the traditional ethnographic or state-funded policy study, finding indisputable cases of positive identity building and community engagement in the literature has been rare, not necessarily because it isn't there in the actual world of the poor and the homeless, but largely because of how literature has traditionally framed the problem. Despite the numerous protests, legal

claims and temporary occupations by homeless people and advocacy groups, the frame of understanding had until very recently been filtered though conflict theory, rather than taking seriously the power that homeless people might have within neoliberal governmentalities. A somewhat cynical explanation is offered by Wagner (1993) when he suggests that "the research methodologies used by social scientists; self-interested professionals in certain formulations of social problems; and the ideological pre-conceptions and political strategies of most advocates and researchers, are the reason for holding back a progressive understanding of the "homeless" (7).[31] So, while one author might present a single valid ethnography of empowerment, many more other studies will point to the uniqueness of this quality, and its incongruence with policy initiatives or goals on a much broader scale. More recently, as I discuss in my concluding chapter, the paradigm shift away from undeserving to deserving poor has begun to reframe these treatments of the homeless.

One of the crippling effects of the power debate in early urban ethnography is that trying to discern what power might ideally mean, tended to frame ethnographies in terms of ideal binary positions in the sense that policy or laws governing the poor were interpreted in terms of how they fit into dominant perspectives within symbolic imaginaries about what ought to be. Under neoliberal governance, the homeless person's power was to be mitigated through continuum of care housing models, shelters, treatment and rehabs, diluted and scattered to dark places, which I discuss later as negative space. With masses of poor people congregating in parks, participating in sometimes violent protests against policies targeting the homeless, and with this occurring on a continent wide level, attention amongst scholars and activists turned to understanding how as a

result of devolution, new subjectivities were being created amongst a largely un-serviced poor population. One of the ways that the power of the homeless was starting to manifest was through the actions of deliberate housing and homeless advocacy. Beric German of the TDRC had explained it many times, "It was no use, you see, to gather a group and make promises they expect you to keep. Mobilization and organization are about demonstrating ways that the poor person can have power. First you have to know who shares your policies and beliefs, who wants to participate, and then you lead by example. Protest, yell, scream, fight for your rights." Homeless activism was beginning to change how we thought of the poor, even if their power was limited, it was power nonetheless.[32]

While I was in the streets of Toronto, participating in sleep-ins at local parks, or covering rallies in church yards, unbeknownst to any of us, in Portland, activists huddled under the Fremont Bridge in tents and toting shopping carts filled with their belongings, were organizing in a fight for the right to land on which to build homes. With all the activism and hype around us, in Toronto, it was impossible not to sense and to feel a certain energy amongst elements of the homeless. Amongst Toronto's homeless, I had conversations about other parks, other cities, and other tent camps. A few even shared romantic stories of riding the freight trains out west. One had been to Seattle and Portland, and then to Sacramento. There were "unbelievable amounts of homeless people there" (Mike, homeless man at "St. Mike's," from Street Beats (2003) 2001). We were not even aware of the tent-camp taking root down by the lakeshore on Toronto's booming waterfront.

One of the homeless campers I met had travelled on five continents chasing the "spirit of alternative community." He had remarked many times that Canadians ought to

give more graciously to the poor, because most of us had no idea how the rest of the world lived – he was referring to Davis' billion or so poor who live on this *Planet of Slums* (2006). He had just arrived from "Christiania" a large squatter community that started in deserted military barracks in Copenhagen. Fed up with the lack of housing for the poor, activists and the poor had squatted and successfully claimed the barracks for occupancy as long ago as 1971. Though the city recognizes it as a commune, "The Christiana Law of 1989, transferred regulation of the commune to the state.[33] Though not a legally sanctioned city operation, and continuously steeped in controversy over its own dogmatic rules and codes, it remains one of the avatars of intentional squatting in the west.[34] Even Denmark had homelessness? He had been also in Kolkata, Karachi, Soweto, and he was in Toronto to help organizers build their own homeless camp, on the lakeshore, not far from my home, because he had heard rumour that homeless folks were organizing in Toronto. Apparently it had been there for over two years, but only a few of the park people knew of it, and certainly, even though it was next to the Gardiner Expressway, a highway with tens of thousands of cars passing by, few Torontonians had any idea what the six shacks on the empty lot had meant. There was no room in our urban imaginary for a shantytown. It was unheard of. Our imaginary saw the parks, the doorways, the underpasses and the street corners. Those must have been deserted construction sheds stashed up under the sumacs.

He took me there one day in late Spring 2001. He was going to build shacks for folks to live in during the winter. His earliest comments to me were about how people from all over the world had come together in these different places he had been to help local communities voice themselves in a world where cities were increasingly displacing

and marginalizing poor people. What was different about Tent City was that compared to the rest of the places he had been, there were relatively fewer homeless people per capita in Toronto than these other places. The 2003 Street Health Report card, reported approximately 5-6000 people on the streets of Toronto on any given night, and that close to 32,000 people accessed shelters in the previous twelve months.[35] Assuming that this number excludes many others who eluded street counts and shelters, such numbers are significantly less than the 1.3 million who live in Rio's favelas[36] or the 1.5 million in Karachi's Orangi Town.[37] The 24-acre plot of land at the foot of Cherry Street looked like a deserted field with sporadic outbursts of trees, mostly sumacs and small poplars, large enough to barely conceal the four (in 2000 and then six, in early 2001) structures in which homeless people were secretively living.

Next to abandoned grain elevators that remain something of a landmark on the lakeshore, the six shacks by mid summer were fifteen with several tents and a few trailers that been brought on site by The Toronto Disaster Relief Committee (TDRC) in 2000, and soon the Press was calling this place *Tent City*. The occupation at Tent City was very different than what was happening at Dignity Village. In Tent City they were squatting on land owned by Home Depot, but which was undevelopable at that time because it was toxic; the soil a few feet down was a putrid benzene broth from the Toronto dumps of 1908. Some of the squatters made good money digging in the toxic soil for antique bottles and other collectibles.[38] Home Depot had not bothered the squatters, and police had no cause to enter the site unless the property owners requested this. They didn't, at least not at first. There were many differences between Tent City and Dignity Village. For now, most importantly are that Dignity Village originated as a

mobile caravan of homeless claimants seeking private land on which to live and Tent City evolved rather organically and quickly, much to the dismay of its original inhabitants who had snuck onto private property largely undetected.

This period was also my first real contact with community organizers going about the business of organizing and literally building a community. And I was very aware of the importance of their role and also the tension between organizers and competing views on how the community should evolve, many of these views originating from the residents themselves. They had different views on the direction they should take as individuals, as a community, as poor folks who were beginning to accumulate property, and lastly, as supporters of competing activist and advocacy organizations.

4.8 Community Organization - Some Basics

Community organizing is about crafting a mobilizable community (Stall and Stoecker 1997 http://comm-org.wisc.edu/papers96/gender2.html - accessed online June 12 2013, also 1998). This form of mobilization differs from a social movement in the sense that community organizing is local, concentrated on the needs of a specific group of residents or inhabitants, and though it might be tied to broader mobilizations, social movements link manly localities into this broader experience. One could think of the organized community as a locality based building block for social movements. Tilly (1984) has said, that a social movement is a "sustained series of actions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course of which those persons make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution of exercise of power, and back those with public

demonstrations of support" (ibid). Shragge (2003) suggests that community organizing on the other hand, is more about people identifying problems with their space of living, their community and identifying desirable means around which to organize their power to pursue these ends.

Shragge says,

> Community organizing at its best has created sites for the practice of opposition. Those interested in progressive social change and social justice were attracted to the community movement because it was a place to organize resistance to the system of global capitalism, patriarchy, racism, and other forms of socio-economic oppression and domination. They believed that the local community – the neighborhood – was a place where people could meet to challenge those forces that oppressed them and in the process, learn about the relationship of personal issues to wider forces that shaped them… I am not only talking about protest and confrontation, but the creation of democratic opportunities through which people can learn about their collective strengths and build social solidarity. In the community, there are a variety of practices that may not seem oppositional, but which do question relations of power, build alternative visions, and shift power to those who usually do not have it (2003: 11).

While Shragge argues further on that organizers are outsiders (12), there is no way to distinguish the role of an organizer, nor the process of organizing from its pragmatic connection to revealing unseen systems of power, domination and oppression to members of the community. Indeed it is on the basis of how these revelations represent a disjoint with values about justice, that mobilization can take place. It is also clear that community organization suggest a different form of action from social movements. In the former roles are clearly defined and individuals set in certain capacities as part of the critical action, and in the latter, the action is decentralized around many such similar locales (25). Interestingly, Shragge points out that surprise, or "spontaneity" of action in unexpected places creates the sense of movement (26). The two, then four, six then 15 shacks that were more or less hidden under the landfill and Sumacs on the lakeshore, went largely undetected by Torontonians, until in late summer of 2001, they became 20, then 45. And

it was in this period that we became aware that the Toronto Disaster Relief Committee had been advocating for those residents, supplying them with a few DuraKit® shacks, a trailer and other vital services as part of their attempts to organize this group into a community with power.

Though we did not see it, and it was not in the news, in Portland, tent camps were popping up under bridges and every few days they were moved by police. These were the early days of "Camp Dignity" which would become Dignity Village. This movement of homeless persons through the city in organized processions – people pushing shopping carts with all their belongings, went on for three years and eventually worked in favor of the protesters by creating the image of a much larger movement. In fact, and I discuss this in chapter six, these parades of poverty as I call them actually grew as they travelled, picking up supporters from within the homeless and conventionally housed community. They began as 8 homeless people and ended with over a hundred. The emergence of Toronto's shanty community was insidious, even secretive, and those original campers were not happy that others had found their site. It was a very different type of organization than Dignity's. Still, once word got out that people were living in shacks "down there," it became difficult not to crane our necks as we drove by at 100 km/hour on the Gardiner Expressway.

This was the first shantytown of its kind in Toronto's modern history, even though shanties and shanty communities were part of the fabric of settlement for turn of the 20th century immigrants.[39] Having been led to Tent City and watching the initial community of six well-concealed shacks grow into over 50 with a population of 115 people over the next 12 months, I recognized that notions of basic freedom and rights were important to

questions of citizenship in Canada as much as they were in The U.S. Having grown up in a nation that most of us had thought quite skillfully ensured my generation's rights to health care, welfare and safety, that a shantytown should emerge, was an uneasy recognition that devolution had revealed the illusion of "welfare" and was questioning the meaning of freedom, even in Canada.

My first experiences at the village were that of being in a surreal canvas of broken things; rough shacks made of tin siding and old discarded lumber. One shack, was built from discarded lumber and siding that had been tossed into the dumpsters at First Canadian Place, one of the tallest towers, perhaps the most noticeable of Toronto's phallic tributes to capital, to invoke Lefebvre (1974). Eventually, disposal companies, construction crews and many other businesses began dumping clothing, materials, and other garbage directly in the village, an illegal act but cloaking their actions in the dress of a good deed, a donations of sorts to the burgeoning community. I shot many hours of video with the man who lived in the southwest corner, set off the main drag and next to the lake; we dined on Bok Choy he grew in his garden, at a table he made out of old wood crates and that sat on the fine marble slabs he had recovered from the same dumpster. Surreal. Quaint. Six shacks that spring of 2001, then two more shelters closed. By July, 15 shacks and tents put up and the TDRC was organizing building and cleaning crews, looking for donations for the site and was fielding questions and critiques from the Mayor's Office, the news and concerned citizens (These images are viewable on the attached DS DISC 3, *Subtext*). The TDRC included on its board of directors some wealthy business supporters, community organizations, concerned street medical specialists and activists. Against the criticism of downtown businesses and residents,

TDRC personnel pointed out that this site should be granted title to the land so they could organize and govern themselves, and that treating the site as a permanent location was tantamount to recognizing the absolutely fundamental relationship between housing and healthcare. In 2001, few of us could imagine that healthcare could be served living under *those* conditions. Today uneasiness over healthcare, welfare and public services is common. Not so back in 2001. And I understood, having been in both worlds, that these shacks were better than laneways but not much better. In those few months after I saw Tent City for the first time, I shot over 40 hours of footage, was spending 3-5 days a week there, building houses, getting to know people, and completely in awe of the effort to organize this modern day shantytown.

Shragge also suggests that the evolution of the action is not fixed and can be thought of as occurring in stages: "Each new round of activity contributes positive and negative lessons about how to go forward to the next round of struggle" (26). After the Twin Towers went down on September 11, the project I was working on was cancelled and I was left with many hours of footage and the request by some of the informants in my work to keep working on their stories. A competition emerged between OCAP and the TDRC as external organizers from Toronto's activist community vied for the right to lead the community into a new permanent location, a proposed intentional community a few blocks away on city owned land. While Tent City had been "occupied" on unusable land owned by Home Depot, the desire to move was not generated from within the community itself, or by Home Depot who had tolerated their presence.[40] When the possibility of a permanent location arose, residents of Tent City were divided; some had wanted to be in charge of their own encampment; others argued over which community organizers should

be in charge of the proposed site. The city would not even entertain the idea of a self-governed community and insisted on a board of directors that incorporated the interests of the city, advocates, the homeless community and representatives of the city ward.

As Tent City became more densely populated, as the war on camping in parks swept the city, Tent City suddenly found itself in the media, amongst debates between politicians and finally in conversations at dinner tables across the city, as part of a growing critique of housing policies. In short order, the plans to build a permanent settlement of squatters on a larger piece of serviced land on Commissioner street was in most papers and if one hadn't read it in a paper or heard about it on the news, it was hard to believe; a rumour, an impossibility.[41] So difficult was the idea of a permanent squatter community to the conventional mindset that Tent City became increasingly surveilled and the subject of erroneous partisan articles, news reports and films. My own video interviews became part of the personal journeys of several of the residents there and they hoped that in our participation on this project, the truth about their lives would get out.[42]

In the end, the new site did not happen. Downtown community and business groups would have no part of it, and it was not part of Housing First models from the US that were beginning to be considered by cities in Canada. The fact that the city and other levels of government had considered building the planned community, however, meant that the homeless claimants who had aligned with various activist organizations to bid for their respective visions for the community had more power than most Torontonians had imagined. Power struggles do not always end in favor of the underdog, but the struggle itself is a sort of proof of agency.

Towards the winter of 2001, this same fellow announced that he hoped to go to Oregon, to help build a community called Dignity Village in Portland. Tent City continued to grow to the point where as many as 200 people would be squatting at any given time, even though the official count of residents was pegged at 115. The TDRC remained heavily involved in the community, and what order there was resulted from their organizers being on site and advising residents. Beyond that, the community was chaos. With no concrete government or leadership in Tent City, fear and drug use had grown to the point where it was less safe than the shelters, several members moved in with family or into slum-like lodgings paid for with their emergency welfare payments, with as many as 10 people living in a bachelor apartment outside of the community, and it was clear to most of us that its days were numbered. My film *Subtext-Real Stories* is the most thorough visual study of this transitional time. While Tent City was crumbling, "In Dignity," this man explained, "they were doing it right."[43] He wanted to be part of an action that confronted the problems of housing and community "head-on." Tent City was not doing that. He had heard of this new city-sanctioned shantytown from other homeless nomads and from activist sites online. So, I also went online and read the news clippings and the comments on their developing web site. It was true; there was a legally sanctioned homeless shantytown in Portland called Dignity Village. My first question was, "how is that possible?" How did they go from shopping carts and tents, to a real village?

In many ways it is that question that shapes the spirit of this dissertation. My point of inquiry was further tweaked by the astute comments made by one of the participants in my film, Bonnie, who as an activist and as a resident of Tent City, had recognized that it

was the establishment of the discursive site, that is the political claim for a space to live on, presented by organized individuals within the arena of the law that delineated the difference between Dignity Village and the doomed Tent City. state laws in Oregon gave the homeless a legal right to emergency shelter camps. Though a homeless camp had never successfully challenged them, Dignity advocates exploited that loophole as a mobilizable resource. Those provisions did not exist in Toronto. Bonnie was quite convinced,

"They aren't fighting to be different, well I guess you could say that this fight for homes is different, but they don't want anything different than other so-called normal people have. They want homes, Eric. Just like other Canadians, or Americans. You know what I mean! They are willing to build their own."

There was something about a loose aggregation of homeless people coming together, uniting over a definition of freedom and citizenship and making a concerted claim within the legal-political system that they were deserving of housing, and then winning, that represented an "impossible possibility" for Tent City.[44] In the film she discusses her conviction that if the city had allowed them to lease the land ("like in Dignity Village"), they could have made a go of it in Tent City.

Shragge also argues that democracy, that is extending democratic privileges to those often silenced in broader political actions, through community organizing is essential to the initial success at meeting goals, and then to the longevity of the community (19). One of the weakness though by no means an indictment of such work is that most community studies and studies of community organizing assume the pre-existence of the community as a locality based problem. That is; how can one study what doesn't exist in a concrete sense? I have discussed in the introduction to this volume how community studies suggest both the physical and symbolic vectors of community. In

some ways community is locality based, and in others, locale is meaningless. Not for Tent City. It was all about a place for emplaced community experience. It had been a perplexing problem for me; what was Tent City? Surely it wasn't a legitimate community, in the sense it was neither city sanctioned nor legally tenured, but in appealing to my earlier discussion of community studies, it was an emplaced experience for residents who recognized each other as members. Tilly and Shorter (1974), Davis (1991) and Shragge (2003) each argued that it was important for social science to understand the conditions under which collective action occurs on a territorial basis. Tent City had a fence and areas that were defined by the residents: the crack section, where dealers and crack whores did their business; the gate keepers, Brian and Hawk who lived by the front gate, and the back end, which Brian called "party central" where a group of long term residents had established a sort of central core of die hard partying and drugging. So it had physically and spatially definable characteristics that corresponded to how people spent time in that space. Since they had no sense of legal propriety over the land, or the community, it was hard to think of life there as emplaced. It seemed and was often described as not only temporary, but doomed.

As Davis (1991) points out, the bulk of theory which denied that collective action occurred on the basis of community, that is on a territorial basis, did so because they reduced community actions to attachments between segments of a community with broader movements, such as labor or animal rights, or as pre-existing cleavages based on religious, class or other "residues" such as poverty (1991:4-5). Davis argued, based on his own experience, that "place-bound communities" act for a variety of reasons, often for infrastructural needs, tax battles and for or against proposed zoning changes (5).

Examining extant community he has argued that locality-based action, which applies to neighborhoods and communities, is largely understandable and critiqued on the basis of the conflict and differentiation between domestic property interest groups (257). The implication of this statement is that the effectiveness of community organization and action will hinge on the degree to which actors are attached to their homes, and beyond that, to the interconnectedness of their propertied status to others who possess property, and for whom the exercise of democratic rights through protest and action is organized along the value of this action to their propertied status. This is not just about property value, but also to the ancestral and aesthetic value of properties, understood as homes. When we discuss Dignity Village later, it will be important to understand that there, citizens are defined by their attachment to property, whereas in Tent City, they had no such entitlement, nor the identity of a citizen, even though they felt such attachments to the homes they had built and what goods they had gathered.

Both Shragge and Davis offer vantages for understanding Tent City and Dignity Village. On the one hand, they both share the notion that communities are emplaced, and that territory is a basic way of defining the organizing efforts of activists. They also show that within the territory of the community there are other affinities and ties that go beyond the residence of the actor, but that "living" in the same community establishes a residential unity that underpins critical potential. They each acknowledge that on the basis of variable wealth and the status of members of the same territory, there is the potential of cleavages that community organizers must confront and mend. They also point out that in the face of a common enemy that threatens the territory or the

community collectively, community organizing becomes more facile. At least that has been *their* experience.

Tent City confounded these community studies based approaches because it was a struggle that tried to generate a community - a territory and a symbolic imaginary – out of garbage. The TDRC and other organizations such as Street Health[45], worked hard for the rights of the Tent City residents, but I witnessed the demise and fall of this shantytown first hand, despite all good efforts to organize and take it to the next level. The residents of the community simply could not organize themselves or control the image of what was happening in the community because they had no legal title to the space, an illegal occupation of someone else's land, and could not establish rules of residency that restricted who settled there. This meant that drug dealers, prostitutes, criminals with warrants, underage runaways and legitimate homeless activists moved in and occupied the same place. What had started out as a reasonable, bucolic, if not quaint demonstration of alternate housing, had soon turned into a lawless shantytown. A few of the activists that had started the village found ways to get out by crashing with friends or returning to the streets, while others formed tight clusters of housing, which they defined as neighborhoods within the camp. Beyond this, there was no room, in the symbolic imaginary of Torontonians, for a massive 24-acre shantytown, not there, next to the boardwalk, the fine condominiums and business towers. If this was the work of activist citizens, Toronto was to have nothing to do with it. Fairly confident that Tent City would be shuttered by the police, in the summer of 2002, discussions turned to where and how to establish other squats and whether or not they could do something like Dignity Village.

I toyed with the notion of *fluid community* in my early film work at Tent City. At the time I imagined the membership, the orientation of the buildings and the uncertain future of the site as denoting a certain amorphous and constantly shifting reality, which I termed *fluid*. As much as the term may have defined the ambiguity that defined life there, the fact that the residents were squatters who had occupied privately owned land meant that the structures they had built could never have been legally claimed as their property, and the organizing efforts of activists in the TDRC and elsewhere, amounted to rallying support for lawbreakers and trespassers. In those final months, roughly the summer of 2002, we were all well aware of the successful claim made by Dignity Village, and we wanted to know how to make Tent City worthy of a city sanction. It has only been in the last few years that I have reframed fluid, as liminal.

Bonnie and I debated whether the community model at Dignity Village constituted a true alternative or not. "You mean are the people free, is it c-o-m-m-u-n-i-s-m? I don't *know,* Eric. Geez I 've never been there. You go! You're the filmmaker," she said one day a few months before they were evicted in September of 2002. Bonnie had moved out of the village and into an apartment in Hamilton because she had a relationship that made that possible, and stayed active in the metro area as a harm reduction activist, looking for a job in that field while Tent City began to overflow with ex-cons, drug dealers, legit homeless folks with nowhere else to go, and then again, there were two shacks on the eastern border of the community that housed young people, just teenagers. Rumors of the underage residents and babies born in Tent City circulated in the news and in conversation around town. In the autumn of 2002 these rumors inspired the Mayor to evict the squatters.

As Drei, one of the first Tent City squatters iterates in the film, "Basically, it's an empty lot. How much damage can a bunch of hippies do to an empty lot?" The damage, it seems was not to the lot, but in the mindset of more conservative elements in charge of the city at that time: the damage was being done to the image of "Toronto the Good," a moniker we had all grown up with. The city was embarrassed. In three days, the site – dozens of structures and the accumulated belongings of 115 residents was leveled. They had each been given two hours to get their stuff and get out. As an illegal occupation they were not given prior notice, except that most people there knew the eviction was coming. Terry and Eddy, two key participants in my work were scouting new squats by August in anticipation of the eviction. After their forced eviction in September, most of them were scattered once again to the streets. They literally had nowhere to sleep that same night, or in the near future. There was significant public outcry against the evictions; if Tent City had looked bad, then kicking 115 homeless people onto the streets looked worse in the eyes of the international press and amongst concerned Torontonians. Evictees linked with activists and legal council, even concerned local politicians like Jack Layton and John Sewell campaigned in front of the press for compensation in the form of housing. As a temporary measure some were placed in motels and low rent apartments. They were scattered across the Greater Metro Area (GTA), some as far away as 15 to 20 miles from the downtown core and social services they required. Remarkably, as some disappeared from the radar altogether, others knew exactly where their friends were and how to contact them and this without cellphones or the "net." The TDRC held meetings with the evictees and advocates in order to strategize legal and political solutions to the eviction. What had seemed to most of us who really studied the place as a lawless homeless camp

was finally coming together as a coordinated community, but only after the locality had been eradicated.

Responding to the combined efforts of evictees, the TDRC, Street Health, WoodGreen Community services and other concerned politicians and housing advocates, the city of Toronto and the Ontario Government, introduced *The Emergency Homelessness Pilot Project* (EHPP).[46] It was based on an American model of housing called *Housing First*. The evictees were placed directly in mainstream rental units that ironically, the condo boon had left vacant. This was different than programs I had been offered in rehab, where successfully graduating from rehab had been seen as evidence of my commitment to a new way of living and hence deserving of housing support, if it had been available. Welfare was willing to support outpatients from the rehab at a time when welfare had been severely reduced by the Ontario government, *because* they had passed its courses and treatment program.

The idea behind the EHPP was that housing people first was essential to getting them to look at other issues, addictions, community and so on, later. This landmark program has impacted the broader housing movement in Canada, as many other cities have introduced rental supplements and housing practices based on this prior experience. Cathy Crowe, author, street nurse and co-founder of the TDRC had called it the "Tent City housing win." And for many of us, it is still understood as that. Community organizers walked into Tent City, did their best to organize the community, and later kept the relational part of community alive by actively uniting them in their right to shelter. Though it was the organization skills of the advocates and activists that orchestrated the success, it was the homeless person herself who provided the power. By speaking to the

media, signing petitions, marching behind advocates and by acting like activists, the homeless ex-resident of Tent City was no longer an addict or an ex-con; they had reestablished themselves as legitimate claims makers. Though the City of Toronto suggests that it acted immediately to find rental supplemented units for the evictees, it took up to a year for many of those I knew to get housing. Regardless, it was clear to me, that even the worst off, *could be organized* and could fight for their rights and had power; it was exactly this kind of power that frightened conventional imaginaries.

In a candid interview three years after she instructed me to go to Dignity, Bonnie who was housed in the EHPP and by then was working in Toronto as a harm reduction worker and an activist, referred to life in Dignity Village as cooperative, democratic and sustainable. We had learned more about the community on the web, in the news and amongst housing activist organizations in Toronto. At the same time, I had contacted Kwamba Productions, the video archivists of the Village, and they had sent me footage of the early days at Dignity, to use in my films. In crafting the first cut of Subtext, I looked at the footage of Dignity. It seemed to be the homeless utopia that everyone had talked about. The first cut of Subtext was completed without the Dignity footage and I remember a photographer friend of mine who had joined me in Tent City quite often, asking me, why I had edited the film as I had. He felt I had painted a rosier picture of Tent City, than perhaps it really represented. Several cuts later, we agreed that to tell the story of Tent City meant showing unfortunate and wonderful aspects of the shantytown. This experience asked me to question what footage of Dignity hadn't I seen. Utopias are not supposed to be real, are they? How accurate was the footage that Kwamba sent me? As activists, I understand that their early footage was motivated by the need to present an

image of a viable alternative to the streets because Portland was literally overwhelmed by street-engaged poor, much as Toronto's had been. Still, my scientific mind imagined that there must a certain darkness to Dignity Village, much as there was in Tent City, so how was it possible that they managed to organize and run a real village?

4.9 Issues of Representation

It was only then, three years or so into my filming that I began entertaining ethical debates about visual representation. Up to that point the only ethical requirements on my work were those that a few local broadcasters had inquired about if they were to show my footage on TV. Beyond letters of consent, however, which I had obtained, there were no restrictions on my freelance work. As a few documentaries came out that talked about Tent City or Tent City residents from a position of exteriority, many of the ex-residents grew disenchanted by the poor representation of life at Tent City. A number of filmed documentaries and a book capped off a spate of representations through various media that seemed either to miss a lot of information or that chose to ignore it.

One film in particular, *Mayor of Tent City*[47], focuses on the life of Karl Schmidt, who acted like he owned the place and earned the moniker "Mayor". This film portrays Karl as a poor, talented soul betrayed by the shelter system and cast aside to the margins, but who is making it work at Tent City by building his own home and helping others to do the same. The film was financed by a major Canadian Broadcasting corporation and is flawed at many levels. Most of all, this film has an agenda; the first is to not portray the community or Karl as defective. They describe life in the community as "charmed yet difficult."[48] Every member of the community who saw the film and who I had

interviewed was aghast at the film and their description of the community. This film was exactly the kind of portrayal of poverty against which Bourgois had reviled. In looking at a camp that was in fact dysfunctional and replete with dangers, as if it were charmed, fed into the myth that such places are a noble actioning of needs by homeless people, and removes from public opinion, the structural and symbolic violence that Bourgois had implicated in the life of the homeless, because a simple solution, crude housing, was possible.

In my own footage of Karl, as interesting as he is, he also reveals the truth about his addictions, his nefarious past; he blames a lot of other people for the position he is in, and eludes to fantasies about properties he possesses and friendships he believed he had. I watched him from the early days transform from an enthusiastic, "bullshitting" shack builder and a sociable character into a drugged out and deluded man who rented out bed space in his shack for a few rocks of crack or in exchange for other comforts. A few days after he was almost beaten to death by a group of residents a few doors from his, he exclaimed it was because his assailants were stoned and looking for drug money. Others who were there said it was because he had been entrusted with donated funds for the community and used them to get (sexual) favors from other people and had spent the rest on drugs. In the time I knew him, he lost 40 pounds and had become cracked out, as were many of the people in Tent City. No one there felt he'd been in charge of anything or thought that his story was emblematic of life on the camp. Tent City was troubled. Shanty camps are zones of struggle at the best of times. This unfortunate truth is not emphasized in the film, when in my understanding it is overcoming – the act of struggle - that is at last, empowering. Very few stories about Tent City were gathered ethically or

presented accurately.[49] It was as a result of the misquotes, the malicious articles and agenda based documentaries coming out of the coverage of the *Tent City-as-an-event* phenomenon that I chose to wait several years before presenting my own work to the public.

Another film, "Shelter from the Storm,"[50] (2002) by Michael Connolly, extols the virtues of tent City by looking at the efforts of Cathy Crowe and the TDRC in the fight for a permanent location for the community. Once again the community is a backdrop to the efforts of activists to care for the poor. It's an important film, one of the few that was made about the place, and helped to create public opinion about the event that was Tent City. Connolly lent some of his footage to me for my documentary. As with most representations it does not look at the community in brutal terms within larger critical debates about self-governance, nor does it follow into the lives of the residents as they moved into housing.

One of the most informative if not troubling volumes about Tent City was Shaughnessy Bishop-Stall's *Down to This* (2004), which is an autobiographical journal of a writer who planted himself in Tent City in the fall of 2001. The book is well written – a collection of anecdotes and remembrance, observations and personal meditations about giving up conventional life and ties, and assuming the role of a homeless shanty dweller. He smoked crack, got drunk, hung out and more or less lived the life of the folks at Tent City. In many ways, I think it is accurate and makes for good ethnography. It's a sort of extreme participant observation that had me wondering if I should have been drinking and smoking crack with the guys too. I did not. I didn't have to. I had enough insight into that world as I have already discussed. The controversy over the book is that many of the

tales and quotes he derives from the actual residents of the community were obtained when they were incapacitated – they were often incapacitated. There can be no informed consent when someone is out of his or her mind. Some of the releases he obtained, I was told later, were obtained under similar circumstances. When we (some of the ex-residents and I) discovered that his book deal, which he had secured before entering, included the option to make a feature film, several of the residents were irreverent and spoke of suing "his ass." I tried talking to him about his book one night at the Tent City reunion party at the Winchester Pub on Parliament St. He did not want to talk about the book or the complaints by some its characters. Most of all, those who have a problem with the book felt they had no say in how they were represented, and furthermore that since he was paid to do the book, they ought to have been reimbursed in kind. Brian Dodge, referred to in the book as "Pops," says, "Who the hell is he to use our names and my experiences, He called me a lot of things in that book, and I never gave him no permission. He wrote a lot of things about me he – he called me a pervert and everything in that book. I'll tell him when I see him. I'll pervert him in the ass if I ever see him. He had no shame." I am not sure where the reference to being a pervert came from. I didn't find it in the book. The point is that the work of a social scientist, in the role I am trying to construct, as someone who informs and is informed by the community, is that such gonzo storytelling or ulterior motives must not deter from a certain fidelity to the people and the community. In the 2007 Ryerson Review of Journalism (accessed June, 2013), Bishop describes this work as immersion journalism, what Gay Talese had called "hanging out. "[51]

Bishop says,

Contrary to logic and what you may have learned, preliminary research is not always an asset. When I moved into Tent City (an area of Toronto inhabited by squatters) in 2001–'02 to write a book, I knew nothing about the place. This was foolish, but no amount of reading or interviewing could have prepared me for a spot populated by con men, drug addicts, fugitives and brilliantly brave vagabonds — an anarchistic community where the rules changed nightly and your life depended on knowing them. In fact, my ignorance was an asset: I was less scared than I should have been, and the need to figure things out fast became an integral part of the story. Also, my missteps led to discoveries. When I showed up in the freezing November rain with a tent on my back, a large woman named Jackie, with a huge smile and giant Rottweiler[sic], took mercy on me and invited me into her wood stove-heated shack. It hadn't occurred to me that there would be women and dogs, but not a single tent in Tent City. I abandoned the tough-guy act I'd sharpened, and started building a shack instead (ibid).

I had approached the community in much the same way, but I had never pretended to know what it means to be a resident there. Still, Bishop's words support my contention that places like tent camps defy easy description, and having even the most articulate and well-thought out model or method by which to figure things out, are doomed to fail – they are of no use at all – if one does not abandon them for a participant method of critique. So I never positioned myself through my films, or in my subsequent writing as one of them. This did not put me in a weaker position to understand what occurred at Tent City. By making the work about me, and them, I could explain what it was like as one who had reclaimed himself from similar demises to be witness to the depravity, the humanity and the demise of the community.

I recognized after Stall's book came out and was, for the most part, absent of theory or organized critique, that I had been filtering my experience at the village through various lenses I had learned in my graduate training; Marxist theories of exploitation, Lipset, and Michels, Parsons, Durkheim and Mead: George Herbert, and Margaret. Looking at my films now, I see image systems that suggest the seminal works of these and other scholars. For all the time I spent in the village, I could not escape the

experience I had had as an academic, as an addict, as a person in recovery. While I had not been engaged in organizing the community, I understood that, especially in light of events in Portland, the demise and fall of Tent City was part of a much larger and important discourse on homeless rights and citizenship, and of the way capital values urban space. In 2003, the only serious appraisal of Tent City that I had found was presented to the Canadian Social Welfare Policy Conference. The author, Mike Bulthius argues exactly this sentiment; that Tent City's demise was explainable by the negative valuation of city space it created. The stigma of poor derelicts tainted the valuation of that space, and hence, it became a target for elimination.[52] My understanding was that events at Tent City and the subsequent rent programs that resulted from it were too important to merely put together without serious deliberation about the theoretical and practical implications this information might mean going forward. So I took eight years to create three versions of my film, the first was character based, the second looked at transitional housing, and the last began a comparison between Dignity Village and the rent supplements programs in Toronto.

To this day, there are those from Tent City who speak of anger at the way aspects of their story were pirated by Bishop, "just like the news jokers and the magazine fuckers," Terry has said, "who came here, got what they wanted and put it together for an audience." Since the uproar caused by his book, I have tried to include the participants of my research in helping me to shape the outcome, the films, my monograph, and the articles, even the exhibitions (discussed shortly). The problem with Bishop's book was not the informative aspects of the village it presented, but the ethical limitations of presenting stories without entertaining how the stories are constructed. In my video work and my

storytelling I try to avoid silencing the voice of others, by revealing how we constructed certain field realities together. Most of all I promised not to exploit people in moments of drug or psychiatric weakness, not unless they felt such imagery and truth was important to their sense of the story, and this only after they had seen the footage. I do this by showing awkward and uncomfortable moments between me and the participants on video, by writing about conflicts as much as agreements, and by showing the truth of this place to be messy and often counterintuitive. I have had to stash countless hours of footage in a hard drive that no one has ever seen because I believed it was compromising to participants, and this despite their desire to show the footage. As one example, I had run into a man in 2005 named Chris who then bragged he had set a series of fires and slashed tents while living at Tent City. He wanted that interview to be included in the 2005 NFB cut of the film. I did not include it because I could not verify this and also because I had made a commitment not to publish matters the implications of which were not fully understood. Had I used this information in that way, he might have been incarcerated by police or assaulted in a vendetta. As it turns out, he had psychiatric issues and his confession was a delusion, according to street health employees. The fire was set by two brothers who burned down their structure because they were leaving - kicked out by the "gang" at the back of the camp, and they didn't want anyone using their home.

I continued to follow the lives of the participants in my film as they learned to adapt to housing, or didn't. In its fifth year of being the first and only city sanctioned shantytown in North America, Dignity Village in 2006, represented to most ex-Tent City folks, an example of what their community could have become, " if only…" These same people often described a sense of "not belonging", of having had a sense of place while in

Tent City that housing did not provide. While they were grateful for having a roof over their head, many of my informants had no idea how to live conventionally or how to feel engaged with their neighbors or communities. Thrust into conventional living arrangements and asked to unite in conventional affiliations, many struggled. Most who had addictions, remained addicted. A few died as a result. Questions about the validity of Lewis' "Culture of Poverty" re-emerged in my notes, and in discussions with housing workers. One housing worker exclaimed that, "We are always in crisis mode with them (ex-Tent City residents), so its really hard for us – we're housing workers - to do our jobs." She also understood that many of the poor people she had met were from other countries, and had always lived modestly but had never been homeless. "The poor immigrants I see here, at WoodGreen are not crack heads. They manage their poverty." I think the implicit argument here is that housing without supports for people off the streets is tantamount to warehousing the homeless, and this becomes problematic.

Still some ex-residents of Tent City have managed to use housing to root in new and more conventional lifestyles. All of them looked and continue to look at Dignity Village as a statement about what could have been, once again… "If only". Brian Dodge, who remains a key informant, though I call him "friend" by now, who had been a crack head, a bank robber and lived in Tent City in its heyday, is now housed in a geared-to-income unit; he has three cats, a live in friend and participates regularly in the Salvation Army. He wouldn't go back to the shantytown style of living because he has managed his liminality and passed from the mindset of a homeless man into a conventional imaginary. Penny Marotte has also made a transition to housing and is having her knees and hips replaced. After selling her body for 20 years on the street for crack and cash, her

housing has provided a stable enough space for her to address addiction and health issues, though she admits she will never be fully clean. In speaking of Tent City, she says, " I'd never go back to that place. Fuck that."

Many others, who feel like their conventional units are similar to prison cells, are largely isolated from the rest of the world, stigmatized for their history, their current poverty and their addictions. Terry Potts, who also remains a good friend, has said often that at least "Down there, at Tent City, I felt I was a part of something." In his current housing, " I dunno, I'm lost buddy, I don't know what to do." He too wonders what his life would be like now if he were still struggling to build his life and contribute to the building of Tent City. I drove by the site of Tent City in January of 2013. It is flattened. It stores vehicles and trucks, and trailers. Construction crews are getting ready to blast the grain silos in advance of building a billion dollar waterfront development. I called Terry to tell him. He laughed. As if on cue, he asked me, "if only eh, bud? If only…"

"If only" suggests conditions of possibility - and the corollary of this is of course, "what if." My storytelling work with the street people of Toronto, has led me to pursue both an analytical and personally satisfying rendition of the conditions of possibility and the meaning of that life for people who live in Dignity Village. Initially I was interested in understanding how spaces like Dignity Village come to be in the first place, and how living there is experienced by residents. What does living there do for people who are homeless beside give them a roof over their heads? How is that village different than Tent City insomuch as Dignity Village is considered a *legitimate* living space by the state? As the first city sanctioned shantytown in North America and now in its 12th year, Dignity Village is the measuring stick for current claims being made by other intentional

communities for the homeless. Back then, the stories I heard from homeless activists, the video I saw of the village, and the village's website painted a truly charming image of the place. If my experience at Tent City had taught me anything, it was to look beyond the appearances, and I knew then, in 2006 that someday I would have to go to Portland and live for a while in order to understand life in Dignity Village.

4.10 Acts, Practices, Citizens and Critical Actors

In 2008 my documentary *Subtext –real stories* was incorporated into an exhibition at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) called House Paint Phase 2: Shelter.[53] The exhibition invited 25 of the country's most widely respected graffiti artists to paint on replica shacks modeled on the size and crudity of those at Tent City. The panels and roofs were sold later in auction as individual canvasses to raise money for Habitat for Humanity. In addition to the shacks, one artist was asked to paint a large model of a suburban home that was suspended from the walls. Over some weeks, visitors would come and check on his progress, and they would watch the film on a computer bank set off from the main exhibit. The idea behind the gallery was to use a multimedia exhibition to explore the history of such land claims in Toronto, the plight of the street person, and the different ways excluded voices are heard in cities. Graffiti and tagging, shack building and rough sleeping as examples; one of the shacks had a peephole that visitors could see through. In the dark interior the names of 500 homeless people who had died on the streets of Toronto since 1985, over 95% of whom were men, scrolled on a perpetual film loop.[54] It was quite astonishing to watch visitors stare into that little hole,

while the ten-minute loop of names went by. I spoke to some of them and they said they had watched because they had no idea so many people had died that way, "here, this city?"

Towards the end of the exhibition, Subtext was screened in the theatre at ROM, and about 150 people came to see it. On stage with me were Brian Dodge, Terry Potts and Beric German of the TDRC and Rima Zavys of WoodGreen. She passed away recently, but she had been a major supporter of my work and a key player in the EHPP and subsequent programs for the poor. After watching the film, it was surprising to see how many people were interested in the short section where I show footage of Dignity Village being constructed, and Bonni talking on camera about it as a viable alternative community. The question and answer period went for almost 90 minutes but was supposed to run for 30. A number of issues were raised by these questions. Some in the audience had argued that the EHPP program was superior for the residents to Tent City because Tent City was out of control. Rima and Beric both expressed that Tent City was better than the streets, but that housing with supports for everyone was basic if we were to really tackle the problem. "Housing is healthcare," Beric said. In asking why the village didn't organize, Terry cited the drugs and the other criminal content of Tent City, and also they always felt they were doomed for eviction because they had no lease; "We were occupiers after all," Terry said, so they "were always ready to boot it." There was no community organizing because there was no community, really. "You can't organize an idea," Terry had said. Except as Brian pointed out, every year they have a Tent City Christmas party at a local pub. WoodGreen has Tent City barbeques to help keep the memory alive, and the ex-residents who still have housing under EHPP, have it because it was a program for folks *from* Tent City. All these and other connections speak to the

fluid community I had been trying to conceptualize for some years by then. Beric spoke the most important truth and that was that no one wanted to live in Tent City, but as citizens with rights they had the duty to make that statement and to take land to build shelter, if society wouldn't do it for them. And that in itself was a bold attempt to establish themselves as a deserving community. I had applied to several doctoral programs but few had seen the lapse between my Masters and this new work as a resource. However, with the support of some mentors from my University of Toronto days, and with this considerable portfolio of real life fieldwork under my belt, each year I was able to refine my search to programs that embraced diverse experience as an academic resource. I applied to the Special Individualized Programs at Concordia University in Montreal and awaited a reply.

During the exhibition, an ex-professor of mine from my days at the University of Toronto suggested a recent book had come out, *Acts of Citizenship,* (2008) edited by Engin Isin and Greg Nielsen that would be of use to my queries. We discussed a way of framing places like Tent City and Dignity Village by trying to understand how these claims for conventional lives, that is as housed "homeless people" in communities, confirmed structural impact on agency, or how the process of claiming an alternate mode of community was in fact an act of some serious nature by deserving citizens.

I have earlier discussed how I use Bakhtin to understand acts; both speech acts, and political. I draw my understanding of the act from Mikhail Bakhtin (1993) because his model of the act requires situating it in the every day. In the sense in which it is understood in the 1993 translation of *Towards a Philosophy of the Act*, *act/activity* is used for *akt-deital'nost'*, a given activity as expressed in an act or instance of that activity"

(79). For Bakhtin (ethical) acts, in fact any act and its account are never a priori, and emerge not from a pre-existing structure, but must always be *achieved*. This point of view seems to parallel the position of Latour (2005) where understanding the actants practical metaphysics leads us to discern the assemblages that frame her world. At this juncture allow me to point out that the key to understanding Bakhtin's "act" is not that there is no structure, but that structure is not *pre-existing, and is unimportant for determining the "outcome" of acts*. Structure assembles in the form of a unique unity between ideas and perceptions regardless of from where they come. This is essential to practical metaphysics as well. As Bakhtin writes:

".... It is only the once occurrent event of Being in the process of actualization that can constitute the unique unity; all that which is theoretical or aesthetic must be determined as a constituent moment in the once-occurrent event of Being, although no longer of course, in theoretical or aesthetic terms" (2).

For Bakhtin then, any discourse, power or ideology that tries to usurp, generalize or replace the moments that occur between actors, or prevent an actor from the freedom of dialogic integrity of the social world is to be challenged and abandoned (Bakhtin 1982, 1993; Gardiner 1992:4). For Bakhtin, it was dialogic interaction that led to communities of cooperation, akin to Habermas' (1981) "ideal speech situation." In the latter, communities of communication are governed by rules governing language, that might not be present in all speech acts, but which reside as an implicit or immanent guide for communicative action. In the former, a dialogic interaction with others is necessary for developing one's own coherent self-image and engaging in cooperative tasks (Bakhtin 1982; Gardiner 1992). Bakhtin had imagined communities that respected the 'act' would support social differentiation and cultural diversity, and in this manner challenge what he had grown up to see as the overtly authoritarian and oppressive structures of modern

government. What made action critical then for Bakhtin, is simply that dialogic moments remain sovereign in the sense that the dialogic act is self-encouraged, self-propelled, regardless of dogmas, or ideology or administrative ends that might frame the context of such emergence. His concept of the act is therefore an ethics driven notion that situates acts and actors in a position relative to ideology and governance that is necessarily critical, because understanding the act means acquiring knowledge of the other and making a decision to act in a certain way that is always unique. Bakhtin's definition of the act and discussion of dialogism inspired me to rethink what I had previously seen as chaos on the streets, or in Tent City as rather a space where different conversations took place. If the act that homeless people took was based on agreeing to a new encoded habitus confounding their once-occurrent activist phenomenon, what did it mean that critique displaced power? Had it really displaced power or just fit right inside it? Is the contract a sort of recognition of the power of Bakhtin's observations of a once-occurrent and unpredictable basis to human inter-action – the contract an attempt to imbue such acts with the governing policies of the city?

This question had led me back to the distinction I made earlier about emancipation: there are two levels at least, one where the claim is for more participation within extant systems, the other a rejection leading to a fight for a whole new way of organizing citizenship. It is more or less the same distinction made by Isin and Nielsen between the active and the activist citizen, and in even broader terms, presents the possibility that governmentality suspends democracy in a perpetually liminal or nascent, yet-to-come configuration, by limiting the actions of citizenship to the former, in order to prevent the possibility of the latter. While I had witnessed the rise and fall of Tent City

as a failure to establish a community of communication able to mobilize, their demise had resulted in housing programs for the poor and this raised many questions about how community activism diverts, veers and fails to achieve some vision of its goals, but can still achieve others. It was at this point that I had recognized there were two ways to access the problem of critique. The first required understanding how powers that govern try to get results from citizens based on what regimes of power or in this case, neoliberal hegemonies want from active citizens. The other required entering the minds of the actor to understand how their unique deliberations on certain knowledge situated them in one or either category of citizen, or perhaps both?

By the time the exhibition had ended, I learned that I had been accepted into an interdisciplinary program at Concordia University. I had something to say and I would do so in doctoral program in the social sciences. By then, based on all my research, Tent City had been described as a shantytown, a lawless community of addicts and criminals, a statement of how Toronto had failed the poor, but there had been little or no theorizing on what the community meant beyond these opinions. In Portland, Dignity Village was touted as an alternative community, green, sustainable and a successful claim by worthy citizens. How different was the claim in Portland, if it was considered legitimate under the rule of law? What do rejection and a "break with habitus" mean? What is critical activity? It seemed to me that the EHPP resolution to the Tent City closure was evidence of each - that is that structural forces and the power of critical groups create new structures and new types of agents when claims are successfully involved. So there is structure but also agency. So what did a legitimate homeless camp mean to the discussion of structure and agency? To begin to answer these questions, I wanted to understand how

an act, which leads to absorption into existing legal frames, can be considered activist? My understanding had always been that activists challenged, not only the ways things were done, but also the very legal principles, some very antiquated, that continued to hold people down.

Where Bakhtin was primarily concerned with the notion of the ethical act/deed per se, Isin, Nielsen and other contributors (2008) offer the concept of *acts of citizenship* as an innovation in the way social sciences can study *citizenship*. In this work, the idea of the citizen is expressed in a variety of performative contexts that go beyond the traditional notion of a state with borders, which imposes obligations and rights on individuals, thus creating a citizen, or *ascribing citizenship*. What separates the concept of *acts of citizenship* most importantly from many mainstream citizenship studies, is that it insists on showing how citizens occupy a dichotomous position within the legal-rational state (*structure*), and in their "own" constitutive state, (their Being), and hence are not merely subject to *containment* (Isin 2008:15). There is an individuated performative quality to the "actors" in acts of citizenship, which transcends points of view that proffer abstract ideals, and theoretical models to the unique circumstances surrounding acts of citizenship.

Citizenship has many qualities. Two important ones are that it inheres the rights and duties inherent to a particular model of citizenship and the other is the definition of that citizenship based on geo-political identifiers. One is a Canadian. One lives in a liberal democracy where to vote is considered a right and a duty, and so on. The traditional model of the citizen is any subject who has *earned* the rights of a citizen by, for example successful immigration, or having been born in a certain place is *ascribed*

those rights, but is in general any person to whom a geo-political citizenship is attached to a particular country – I am a Canadian. It is less easy these days to make this definition stick because we see more and more examples of subaltern and inventive ways of claiming citizenship, for asserting what are inherently the rights of the legal citizen by illegal citizens. Such is the case with the millions of undocumented workers in North America, who make claims on the rights accorded citizens, such as workplace safety and minimum wages, and who organize in creative ways to assert these claims and to protect their position in the market place (Drache 2008; Nielsen 2011, 2012). We are clearly faced with an image of the citizen, which is arguably more complicated than say, a hundred years ago, an image that reduces the determinism of birthrights and systems of indoctrination programs by opening up other creative venues by which non-citizens can act as if they were these more traditionally understood citizens.

Isin (2008) once again, points out that the citizen is involuntarily caught up in a web of rights and responsibilities which overlap such things as the environment, rules of copyright, (traffic rules) and so on. Such accords cross objective-subjective interstices of social and political choice and are clearly related to the structural mechanisms of the state, so that the state is "implicated in varying degrees of influence and autonomy" (2008: 15). Still, a further complication in the current context of the political world is that citizens now carry these "webs of obligation" with them and are affected by those of other (citizens) well beyond local contexts into the global arena. "The intensification of social relations through movements and (global) flows has generated new affinities, identifications, loyalties, animosities and hostilities across borders (16). It has become difficult to locate citizens within their local belief systems or to isolate the origins of a

trend, which seemingly makes it way onto the local scene. Drache (2008) similarly dresses the citizen in a coat of many colors, explaining that the boon in information technology has provided new modes of action, new modes of interaction across borders without the need for spatial demands on citizenship, so that the citizen now comprises the citizen of the nation and world simultaneously. The act of citizenship then can be retooled slightly to include acts, which may require no more then writing a protest letter and then hitting the "send" button.

The most influential element of Isin's construction and one that propels this dissertation to inquire into the nature of critique, is the distinction I began with in my introduction, one made between *activist citizens*, and *active citizens*. In the former, actors are created by engagement in writing new scripts about how to approach just and critical aims; in the latter, citizens act out according to or within the limits set out by pre-existing critical scripts (38). Isin argues that acts of citizenship do not need to originate in the name of anything, but are interpreted in how they orient themselves towards justice. Tent City had never really oriented 'itself' towards anything coherent. Some residents, from time to time, acted cooperatively, or went to protests, usually at the request of TDRC or other organizers. And these were citizens, all of whom were born in Canada and had ascribed citizenship. For some, this was entitlement enough to what they mistakenly thought was an inalienable right to housing. So they did nothing, because as citizens, they possessed, but did not have to fight for rights. I would also suggest that in the context of extreme drug use, mental illness and no real tenure on the property that they occupied, fighting for community seemed unreasonable to them. So one way I interrogated the matter of acts and citizenship was by asking, "Why don't people act

when they really must in order to preserve their way of life or for their rights?" For eight years at that point, all we knew, (Me, Bonni, other activists) about Dignity Village was that it represented the first successful claim by homeless activists for the right to land. This is how it had been pitched on its own website, in the media and in the news. So what made this claim so unique? There was some discussion about how the village in 2001 had represented a group of people motivated to produce positive living conditions for themselves, as a tribute to the self-help ethos of neoliberal governance. This was Bonni and Drei's position, as well as that of Beric German and Cathy Crowe from TDRC, all of whom understood the idea of people gathering together and helping themselves form a community as a necessary, but positive response to the lack of services in the age of devolution. Clearly, in he 1990's, addicts, alcoholics, the poor and the mentally challenged, together with the communities in which they lived had been left to find solutions to their problems. A number of articles examine the spaces occupied by the homeless as evidence of the self-help ethos (Marin and Vacha 1994; Rivlin and 2001; Rivlin and Imbimbo 1989; Swithinbank 1997; Mental Help Net 2002; Fairbanks Jr. 2004; Kwamba 2005). *The National Coalition for the Homeless* supports a "self-help and empowerment web-site" that supplies the web sites and email addresses to other links that establish a self-help network for the homeless and community organizers. Kwamba who had been working with Dignity since 2001, had produced the "Tent City Tolls Kit," a video that shows would-be tent camp builders how to do it. It is out of the spirit of the self-help ethos that the noble actioning of needs perspective has evolved as one take on intentional camps. Having witnessed the utter decay of Tent City, having learned more about Dignity Village, I had been left with something of a conceptual conundrum.

If these places were evidence if not spatializations of poor people "self-helping," building homes and trying to recover from homelessness, wasn't this a type of governmentality? I mean surely the squatting and fighting for community was unusual, but was it the break with habitus that I had been trying to imagine?

I went to Montreal to meet Dr. Nielsen who had agreed to be my supervisor. One of the keys he told me was (I am paraphrasing) to try and understand how critical actors come to be and what the real critical act is, ideally, not just a deliberation that chooses from amongst common practices, but something that inverts, twists, tries on, abandons and settles into a new way of approaching a matter of social justice. We agreed that governmentality was a powerful and persuasive tool for understanding the tension between acts and practices, especially in the self-help era, where "we are constantly being told to fix some thing or another" but that in order to understand the act as something that stands outside of governmentality, one needs to understand how critical actors come to the point in their deliberative and performative capacities to act beyond those constraining tendencies. There are several levels to which this question finds relevance. First, there is the personal level, and asks how it is that like me, a person stuck in a liminal and troubled place, might find the resolve to reclaim a conventional and useful purpose; second, one might ask how it is that a group of people might organize, as they did in Dignity Village to fight for the collective right to pursue such ends; and finally, as we will examine throughout this dissertation, how is it that villagers can transcend the liminality and state of limbo that the village currently represents as yet another way to help themselves?

These are important deliberations for me, and constitute the aim of pragmatic ethnography of critique. To begin to understand Dignity Village as a community, as a discursive point on a continuum of debate over the rights of the homeless, requires that one understands the degree to which the action that created Dignity Village confirms the activist citizen's role to invert and reinvent, or the active citizen's role to follow scripts about how to be critical. For me this suggests that we need to know how it is that a homeless and struggling subject finds empowerment and becomes a political subject.

As a start to this, I next discuss several approaches to social critique to come closer to an understanding of why and how it is that subjects become critically engaged with issues of social justice. I am going to suggest that elements of many critical approaches are relevant to understanding the critical capacity of the village, but in the end, it is Foucault's governmentality and pragmatic sociology's critique of justifications and worlds, that provide the best anchoring for PEOC.

4.11 Summary

In this chapter, I began with an introduction to the various concepts used in this section. I offered a reflexive history of my experience with addiction, recovery, homelessness and early fieldwork on the streets of Toronto. I argued briefly for a personal and subjective criticality in my research. This was followed by an historical account of how my work in screenwriting and visual documentary production led to the early video projects on the streets of Toronto. I followed the evolution of my questions as an historical journey of the contexts of homelessness in the US and Canada during that period and offered a short discussion of some of this literature. I discussed the problem

with visual misrepresentation by news, journals and documentary filmmakers. I discussed the notion of power as a central theme in my work.

Then I argued that in the context of gentrifying urban cores, the stigmatization of poverty has been used as an excuse to redevelop run down areas of the city, and led to the extirpation of the homeless persons who made use of deserted inner spaces and cheap lodgings. I discussed some of the lessons I learned about community organizing by observing the Toronto Disaster Relief Committee (TDRC). I briefly discussed the current context of my work, the choices I have made to reimagine certain critical positions, and offered a brief reiteration of the broader context into which this research is continuously reconfigured. My early academic treatment of the village within the model of *Acts of Citizenship* led me to interrogate critique and critical action as means of understanding what an active or activist citizen might look like in real life.

Endnotes - Chapter Four: Pages 152 -250.

[1] Strathern (1987) refines this position by pointing out that there is no reason to assume that the conditioning of a Western observer to western subcultures is likely the same as that of a non-Western observer to her subcultures. That is; because cultures construct self-knowledge differently.

[2] I see ways that counting, comparing and cataloguing have merits as parts of ethnography (Collier Jr. 1969). It is important to understand the kinds of material, technological, familial, and other resources or conditions where we are working. An early rejection of the "how many are there " position was to change as my work later imbricated with the goals of housing activists and policy programmers, where I came to understand that they too had to fight for policies and programs that fit into their critique of the problem. That is; that critique has quantifiable vectors too, especially in the realm of policy and planning. For my fieldwork however, I have only approached the measurement of homelessness as a means of situating my observations in broader contexts of the participants' and my experience. Throughout this dissertation I refer to but do not emphasize statistics as a basis for my critique.

[3] Deborah Bloom, writer, Ethos Magazine. 2011/09/26 - http://ethosmagonline.com/archives/13755

[4] Heather Mosher and Wendy Kohn, whose company Kwamba Productions have produced several videos about the village also created the *Tent City Tools Kit*, a resource video for other intentional homeless communities and the film *Doorways to Dignity*, yet to be released, which looks at the emergence of Dignity Village between 2001-2008. During the early days of the village, they produced the Village Intake video with the help of a core group of members from the village. In doing so they encountered resistance from some factions and support from others, much as I did when doing my research. As noted in chapter six, the tension created by the ethnography had real and lived results and must be understood as effective in determining the directions critical actions take. Sometimes this can be devastating to the community. There is risk.

[5] In 1994 and 1996 I went to welfare supported drug and alcohol rehabilitation.

[6] *Sisters of the Road* is a long standing homeless café where homeless men and women exchange labor in the establishment in exchange for food and other donated goods; R2DTOO is the homeless tent camp that Ibrahim established at the gates of Portland's popular Chinatown

[7] "The Rideau Regional Centre, located in Smiths Falls, Ontario, opened in 1951 as the Ontario Hospital School. Along with similar residential institutions throughout Ontario, it was designed to house individuals who were deemed to have cognitive and physical disabilities. Individuals could be admitted by parents and guardians, training schools, or the Children's Aid Society. At its peak, Rideau's population exceeded 2,600 people in 1955, even though it was only built to accommodate 1,500. By the mid 1970s, the Ontario government operated 16 such facilities across the province." http://www.institutionalsurvivors.com/background/rideau/

[8] In April of 1995 my sister entered my rat hole of a studio and stood over me as I slept in my only possession – a futon. Her tears literally hit the ground next to my head, and one landed on me. I awoke to her words. " You need help." I agreed, for some reason - having ignored those words for over a decade.

[9] Dry fly fishing requires studying entomology and then tying replicas of insects onto hooks in order to catch trout. A person writing about this without having experience of which insects hatch and when in the seasons would be quite impossible.

[10] At first I was astonished. However, between 2001- 2004 a popular satirical stage play, *Urine Town*, by Holliman and Kotis, ridiculed capitalism and social programming by presenting the struggle of the poor as a pre-revolutionary moment -- it was quite successful with over 900 performances. It won three Tony awards. This was not the project I was working on. db.com/production.php?id=1293.

[11] I discuss in greater detail futher on. Essentially the figures vary between the value systems presented by the number collectors. States tend to downplay the problem, advocates to inflate the numbers. Whereas StreetHealth and the TDRC had told me many times, there were countless thousands that headcounts and point-in-time stats never recognize. If 32 thousand plus individuals had accessed shelters over the year, it was likely that many thousands of others never had that choice.

[12] Loizos 1991 refers to this filmic method as a sort of reportage.

[13] In the spring of 2000, the homeless began to appear in greater numbers than in previous years. They were everywhere in parks and at city hall, by fountains and other public spaces – in the summer months their numbers swelled, and many expressed the truth, that they were "summering" in Toronto, en route to family elsewhere across the country because the welfare and social services they had sought in their points of origin -- remote communities or other provinces – had dried up or disappeared altogether. The sketches were to be incorporated into a theatrical production that hoped to explore more unusual street identities; the failed lawyer, banker, doctor, professor or the few that had "opted-out" of the system and such – images not commonly associated with the street "bum," the addict or with common popular attitudes towards homelessness.* I conducted several hundred interviews. A selection of 30 of these made it into a preliminary video catalogue called "Street Beats" (2003).

[14] Street Health in Toronto had conservatively estimated numbers of people on the street per day as between 5-9000, with annual shelter visits as high as 32,000/annum. However, these numbers did not account for countless others in jeopardy or on the streets. In the U.S., at the same time, estimates are conservatively listed between 250,000 to 650,000 (HUD 2002; NAEH 2000). In Portland, as many as 2,000 people were literally on the streets (from transcribed minutes in "Doorways to Dignity").

[15] It is largely impossible to present incontrovertible or even matching numbers, but grass roots organizations in various cities such as StreetHealth and the TDRC in Toronto regularly reported numbers as high as 5000 – 9000 per night in Toronto, while other cities like New York (NCH 2005) reported figures over ten times that amount. It is impossible to discern the reliability of these figures.

[16] In an unpublished paper called Mean Streets (2010), I cite several sources that place the street populations of North American cities at on average, over 75% male, and in the US, over 60% of the time, black. The mean age was between 18-34. Women, when counted, amounted to less than 30%. The figures are rough due to the irregularity of figures collected from site to site.

[17] Television, Internet, activist newsletters, magazines and photo exhibitions, as examples.

[18] Discussed at length in chapter seven.

[19] Pascal, Janet B. *Jacob Riis: Reporter and Reformer*. New York: Oxford University Press 2005.

[20] These are outlined in chapter five. Each of these critical positions looks to reveal the patterns by which dominating powers and ideologues keep actors down through ideas, institutions and coercion. The assumption is that the poor are homeless because the domination they endure produces this state. I want to argue that the poor in fact can and do have power choices.

[21] Low wage earners in Canada and the U.S. do embody the "insecurely housed" included in the definition of homelessness by the United Nations, (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UN 2002) and recently remarked on by Dr. Stephen Hawg of the University of Toronto (Gazette, November 20 2010:A-22). As such they represent an often-overlooked number of homeless even though they are a much larger population in real terms. Much as it was in the 1800's, a poor person begging on the street is more visible and notable for their poverty than for any other quality. A poor person who goes to work and returns to tenement housing, or to the single room motel unit where they try to raise four kids on the salary they make as a parking attendant at Disney World, is rarely even understood as homeless by the "mainstream", since they maintain the dignified illusion of having a "home". Hidden within this imaginary is a conditioning over time of hegemonic values about dignity that are related to how and where one lives as a function of the number and types of affiliations within which one is bound; further that the crystallization of these mediations over time has produced "only very certain ways" of legitimately achieving it.

[22] http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ohs/

[23] Bourgois and Shonberg 2010, *Righteous Dopefiend*.

[24] Following Weber, (1974) the social organization of the street families I met inhered organization and leadership, sometimes based on age, experience on the streets or physical prowess, but these individuals were able to lead and this suggested power to me.

[25] This is not to argue that people should live on the streets to feel empowered, nor that many informants shared this view. It suggests that of the 47 million people in the US and the 3. 8 million people in Canada, who live dangerously close to the streets because of their poverty, some will land on the streets, and some will find that experience more empowering than life in conventional communities.

[26] As of June 2013, she is the village CEO and this after three years of moving up the political ladder at the village and also conspiring to impeach the past CEO mid-term.

[27] On the one hand capitalism requires a class of poor workers to fill roles as cheap labor, but at the same time it creates stigmatizing laws, spatial codes and other means to reduce the social capital of the very poor. Poverty is to be avoided, yet is necessary to the process of accumulation.

[28] One of the most economically powerless persons on the planet is the homeless person. Once again, the study of power amongst the poor has focused on the big problems, the repression of farmers in Central America (Sachs 2005), the shanties of Asia (Davis 2006) and so on. This is so because these large categorical groups are easily situated within critiques of globalization and global capitalism where the sheer size and isolation of the poor population in sites like *flavellas* and massive shanty-cities, abets an easier description of the parties involved in the struggle for resources and power in well – established cases of alienation and marginalization (Bayat 2009; Sachs 2005; Harvey, 2003; 1989; 2005). Such massive power struggles in these places confront international aid organizations and the world banking system, so they have received great attention. Power struggles on these massive scales, are generally defined as collective actions, actions defined by their numerous affiliations and tendency towards massive struggles or social movements, (Bayat 2010) whereas looking at issues of power in the case of a homeless man in Toronto, or family camped out in their car in Portland requires situating notions of power in a specific and highly transient localized personality.

Powerlessness in itself, however, is closely related to notions of disaffiliation, Bahr (1973); and it is, therefore, very much an expression of the street people I was studying in 2001. Once again, I reiterate that the street people I looked at, were best described in terms of their having few or no conventional affiliations, except with authorities such as police or medical officers, and, therefore to being powerless in the mainstream. On the streets and within their own networks there was a sense of empowerment.

[29] Wagner (1993), Bourgois (1996, 2010), Wasserman and Clair (2010), Caponi (1999) Represent urban ethnographies that connect poor urban subjectivities to political economies as a way of overcoming the stigmatizing and reductionist tendencies of the culture of poverty legacy. But this means abandoning dogmatic positions about what freedom and worth might ideally mean, in favour of a messier understanding grounded in the shifting categories of experience amongst the people we are studying.

[30] These positions of course influenced by the dominant discourse of dignity and poverty expressed in poor laws and labour reform acts which we discuss in the following chapters.

[31] Fairbanks Jr. (2004 Dissertation) takes a different route but arrives at the same conclusion. He states that the "urban ethnographies of an earlier era – built on the foundational ethos of a War on Poverty – were either tacitly or explicitly in support of direct state action to ameliorate the devastating immiseration of structurally produced urban poverty and racial exclusion" (60). He then calls for urban ethnographers to find

inventive ways to understand how these conditions currently play out. That is what this dissertation intends to do.

[32] It was as result of this mindset that I began to entertain Foucault's work on governmentality that we address in chapter five.

[33] http://www.christianiaooo.dk

[34] http://www.christiania.org -- http://www.christianiaooo.dk/english.php

[35] http://www.stmichaelshospital.com/pdf/crich/homelessness-canadian-cities.pdf

[36] http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-politics/rios-favela-population-largest-in-brazil/#

[37] http://blogs.newschool.edu/epsm/2012/05/24/orangi-town-karachi/ see also: Hasan, A. (2003). *Urban Slums Reports: The case of Karachi, Pakistan*. Global Report on Human Settlements. Hasan, A. (2006). Orangi Pilot Project: the expansion of work beyond Orangi and the mapping of informal settlements. *Environment & Urbanization, 18*(2), 451'480.

[38] My film, *Subtext-real stories*, contains stories of these bottle diggers.

[39] In my film, Subtext-real stories, I gathered images from the city of Toronto Archives of shanties built by immigrants from 1902 to 1938. They were set up in many places, next to the original city hall on College Street, and on Bathurst next to the rail lands. My own ancestors recall the shacks and shanties belonging to friends and relatives during the depression. This is an underexplored part of Canadian urban history.

[40] Even The Toronto Disaster Relief Committee, which had championed Tent City, has closed its doors as 2012.

[41] "…after a year of hard work to provide Tent City squatters with safe housing, the Toronto Disaster Relief Committee (TDRC) was shocked to learn that city staff's final solution for the "Tent City situation" involves neither TDRC nor Tent City itself. At an October 18 meeting of the community and neighbourhood services committee, the TDRC proposal for the relocation of Tent City to a city-owned site at 525 Commissioners Street was rejected by city staff in favour of a Homes First proposal for the same land. The Homes First project will result in the construction of 29 prefabricated transitional housing units, providing accommodation for 32 homeless people. But the tenants will be drawn primarily from Homes First's existing clientele, meaning that most of Tent City's 60 residents will be left squatting precariously on their current, heavily polluted site. A subsequent motion by TDRC to allow Tent City residents to settle on the unused half of the Commissioners Street site will be considered by council on November 6. But few can shake the feeling that the Tent City residents, who got the "prefab housing" project

rolling, have been left out in the cold. "Of course we're happy that anyone is going to build affordable housing,' says TDRC member Beric German. "But the people here are the ones who have campaigned for this type of affordable housing. And the solution that is proposed won't house all those at Tent City who need housing." From *NOW* | October 25-November 1 2001 | VOL 21 NO 8.
NOTE --This site never materialized; yet the consideration of the project suggested to me that even the homeless had power when they coordinated their efforts with experienced organizers.

[42] My film series, *Subtext-real stories* 2002-2012 follows the residents of Tent City.

[43] He was misguided. While the village had been legalized, it was replete with drugs, poor health and many of the issues facing Tent City. Until the film *Doorways To Dignity* (2010), no one really knew the extent to which the village had suffered.

[44] I had envisioned this process as an "act of citizenship," following Isin 2008. However a central tenet of their argument is that the act constitutes a break with habitus, and addressing the shantytown claim as a break with habitus, would prove tautological in the sense that what activists had sought was a return to conventional lifestyles, using existing laws and practices to secure those rights democratically. I speak to this more in the concluding

[45] Street Health is a non-profit community based agency that improves the health of homeless and under-housed people in Toronto. We offer both physical and mental health programs. Our work is focused in the neighbourhood around Dundas and Sherbourne Streets, an area with the largest concentration of homeless shelters and drop-in centres in Canada. www.streethealth.ca

[46] On September 26 2002 The City of Toronto announced the Emergency Homelessness Pilot Project. http://www.toronto.ca/housing/pdf/tentcity5.pdf

[47] http://www.belladonnaproductions.ca/The_Mayor_of_Tent_City_Teaching_Guide.pdf

[48] http://www.belladonnaproductions.ca/The_Mayor_of_Tent_City_Teaching_Guide.pdf

[49] *Down to This*, By Shaunnessy Bishop-Stahl used participant observation to describe aspects of people's private lives. The New York Times had reported that a baby was born in the camp. That never happened.

[50] http://vimeo.com/58645229

[51] http://www.rrj.ca/m4084/

[52] http://www.homelesshub.ca/(S(weebrwvyjvymf52u4qsbd045))/Library/Contesting-the-Limits-of-Social-Polarization-in-Urban-Communities-the-Constructions-of-Tent-City-Toronto-36662.aspx

[53] http://housepaint.typepad.com/housepaint/about-housepaint-phase-2-.html

[54] http://www.thegridto.com/city/local-news/counted-out-toronto-homeless-deaths/ offers a higher figure. The names from the TDRC are included in the Blue Print to end Homelessness - Wellesley Institute (2006).

Chapter Five: Critical Approaches

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I first address Latour's challenge to critique. *In Reassembling the Social* (2005), he makes critique pretty impossible by saying first of all that reality is constantly unfolding in the practical metaphysics of actants, so it is therefore impossible to critique as a "social fact." He might ask, "What exactly are we critiquing anyway?" He also questions the ability of anyone outside of lived experience to understand it well enough to critique it, so when we are critical of social situations, the only critical nature we need to consult, once again is that of the *actant*.[1] In his famous essay "Why has critique run out of steam?" (2004), he reviles against the emotional and often reactionary critiques that have come to be acceptable in the social sciences post 9/11. He claims that critique has been reduced to conspiracy theory because of the way it no longer attaches to empirical knowledge. He challenges critique to reunite with realist perceptions and to abandon its reductive tendencies. Accepting that we need a mode of critique that does not reduce critical possibilities to basic or fundamental elements but anticipates the agonizing process of making sense of critical diversity from the critical assemblage of actants, the PEOC is exactly that kind of method. It seeks to open up critique, rather than to lock it down.

Simply to arrive at a clear understanding of my position, I look at three main branches of philosophical critique, critical dogmatism, transcendental critique and deconstructionism and give a sample for each of how they might look at the homeless. I then discuss five major critical approaches that have the common goal of trying to explain the potential for emerging political subjects in matters of a critical nature. These

include Critical Theory, Critical Sociology, Critical Realism, Genealogical Critique and Pragmatic Sociology of Critique. Of these I emphasize the latter two for the powerful role they give actors and for the way they imagine resistance. Ultimately I see some utility in all of these approaches, so I weave in and out of these where transcripts and analysis make sense to do this. I am going to conclude later though, that Foucault and Boltanski give the best approaches to making sense of the critical capacity of liminal communities.

5.2 Getting Over Latour – Introducing Social Critique

First, is critique possible? This seems to be a ridiculous question in the sense I have just critiqued space and ideas to some degree. Latour has imposed a certain burden of legitimacy to social critique in the wake of current popular tendencies to treat any nervous response to events around us as license to critique. All human actors are to some degree practitioners of critical thinking, and one's worldview could be understood as the basis for a type of critique, but as it regards social justice, there must be more to an approach than merely being critical or reactionary.

There are views of social critique that suggest that normative and moral categories ought to be imposed on the exigent life in order to determine if it is justly experienced at all levels, personal, community and so on. My problem with the "either-or" tendency of normative – diagnostic critical schools, is just that, *either*, *or*. Life is just or it is not because justice, equality and freedom are allegedly discernable and stable values that we can impose on situations to determine their justness. This classic position rooted in the Hegelian-Marxist critical tradition is focused on social transformation and social justice.

It appeals not to the individual's critical capacity, but the moral weight of convincing all people of how false consciousness or ideological suasion has duped them into believing that a form of domination is a natural state of affairs. Since the post-modern turn, the possibility of grand foundations serving as critical catalysts is severely undermined, and critique tends to look at how actors can appropriate space to act from a world that is increasingly understood as socially constructed and complex (Turner 2008; Delanty 2011; Bohman 2008).

Current debates over what constitutes valid social critique correspond with the traditional tendency to separate rather than unite these styles of critical thought that have divergent *philosophical* premises about how knowledge happens or what such things as justice mean (Sayer 2000; Biesta and Stams 2001; Turner 2008; Larsen 2012). What my observations in the village present to me is a number of situations where various critical identities and scripts adjoin the villager in her daily life. So what I want to suggest is that when, in the next few pages I talk of critical dogmatism, transcendental critique and deconstructionism, as three major types of philosophical critique, or when I refer to critical approaches, such as critical sociology or critical realism, we listen to the possibility that an actor might be understood in the terms of each, at different times, and further that since this is the case, PEOC must be open to finding or recognizing critical scripts from these traditionally divergent approaches in the same actor, the same community and on. The inability to do this, which means in other words, the tendency to reduce complex critical moments into simpler modes of understanding (i.e. as grand moral narratives or diffuse weak micro level approaches) is the demise of critique, which Latour discusses, in his famous 2004 address. I want to spend some time on it here,

because despite his pessimism for critique, I find many of his ideas useful in my own approach. And I want to say that his challenge to see even more complicated repercussions of undressing critique is the ethos of PEOC.

Latour asks,

> Do you see why I am worried? I myself have spent some time in the past trying to show " 'the lack of scientific certainty' " inherent in the construction of facts. I too made it a "'primary issue.'" But I did not exactly aim at fooling the public by obscuring the certainty of a closed argument—or did I? After all, I have been accused of just that sin. Still, I'd like to believe that, on the contrary, I intended to emancipate the public from prematurely naturalized objectified facts. Was I foolishly mistaken? Have things changed so fast? (Latour 2004:227).

In his important and long article, "Why Has Critique Run out of Steam?" Bruno Latour (2004) is skeptical of the usefulness of social critique suggesting, "our critical equipment deserves as much critical scrutiny as the Pentagon budget" (231). Quite simply, he just seriously doubts the veracity and competence of those in positions to make important observations. Baudrillard mysticizes the attack on the Twin Towers as some affect of capitalism, and the rest of Latour's world has become (over) taken by conspiracy and weird forms of truth, which are nothing more than *matters of concern,* that are impossible to prove, but come to be presented as critiques of government, science, capitalism, the CIA and so on. Latour is arguing that critique has come to mean little more than skepticism and suspiciousness to the point of a common faith in delusional conspiracy theories. Later he adds,

> My argument is that a certain form of critical spirit has sent us down the wrong path, encouraging us to fight the wrong enemies and, worst of all, to be considered as friends by the wrong sort of allies because of a little mistake in the definition of its main target. The question was never to get away from facts but closer to them, not fighting empiricism but, on the contrary, renewing empiricism (2004:231).

In his regard, critique needs to attach itself more fully to an understanding of

objects as facts, matters of fact, that is, rather than matters of concern which tend to paint facts or objects with a certain truth, as if they were *facts* (243). All objects are created, as are all matters of fact, out of concern, or as objects of matters of concern, but that does not mean that the computer created to compute, is merely that thing – it has implications, some social, some economic, some capital (he who has the new Mac is king; in the village we will find out later that Brad Gibson was accused of theft because he used the village computer too much!) and so critiques that attach to ideas and things, should lead to a broader understanding of their implication, literally *implication* in other aspects of reality. In sum, (as if it were possible to summarize Latour) he is simply arguing that critique needs to rejoin with realist positions that ascertain how certain matters of fact come to be understood that way. His call to see multiplicity instead of simplicity, inherently not a deconstructionist, but in fact a sort of expansionist critique, suggests not the reduction of ideas and facts to a basic underlying aporia or truthful principle, but to find "*more*, not *less*, with *multiplication*, not *subtraction*" (248). In his point of view social critique passed away many years ago, because of its tendency to reduce what is observed critically to a simpler state of affairs, a truth, a function, a theory, a moral imperative or normative diagnostic precept. He puts it to us, that we must, therefore, in order to look at things critically, including material objects, living entities, even ideas, look for the way they mediate, integrate, assemble and deploy (248).

Okay, so I too agree that a certain critical attitude needs to be extended to the relationship between our social lives and non-human elements of the lived life, categories of thought, theorems and laws of physics, computers, the sun and rocks and the sea. I agree also, that to a certain degree we have tended to try and simplify reality through

critique by reducing social problems to key elements and to disclose transcendental and dogmatic principles that mess things up. We can critique social movements on the basis of the ideologies they profess to resist, but it would serve us well to see how the integration of people in the movement expands social complexities by linking directly and transitively an almost virtual assemblage of things, resources and *actants*. I don't see Latour's indictment as the end of critique. PEOC is quite frankly my attempt to address his and other criticisms that we will discuss, but most importantly to open up critical thought to diversity rather than impossible oversimplification on micro or macro grounds. For the village we experience on the ground, critique grounded in stubborn views to idealized codes and rules that were part of the planning process, must always present the village in terms of failure, whereas its actual potential as a community remains undisclosed.

One of the dangers of pragmatic and critical ethnographies is the very uncontrollable and often-unpredictable kinds of information that are revealed in groups, when the simple dogmatic truths that help them organize their poverty are uprooted. The safe, simple and convenient patterns of dependence and order that homeless citizens of the village tend to ride; "the safety of structure," as one had put it, explode into messy, confusing and seemingly unmanageable patterns when brought under a critical and reflexive mode of examination. What was considered a simple relationship with the head of the IT department in the village for example, comes to be understood for how control over food, or a bag of dope favorably impacts others' access to the computer and presents complex possibilities for alignments and conflicts. The current grip on the village by the city is not because of some legal code in a democratic constitution, but because no one

will fight for another way to see this code. The villager does not want to know that because they have no idea on their own how to go about making this change. It is easier to cede a potentially critical position to the more powerful when one does not know how to create a response. We will examine this in detail in the concluding section, where the recent impeachment of the village CEO is literally a perfect example of the kind of conspiracy-oriented critique on the basis of material misconduct to which Latour reviles. I have already mentioned the divisive effect Mosher's participatory work had on the village. After I discuss the classic traditions of critique, I address this multiplication to which Latour commands us because I understand a diversification of the choices actors must make as a necessary outcome of pragmatic ethnography of critique in liminal spaces, because out of ambiguity a number of positions could take hold, given that certain conditions are met.

I find some commonality with my approach to that of Latour's later *Reassembling the Social* (2005) in so much that I see no basic reality to social life; reality is unknowable until it is found out or lived through the way actual individuals occupy it; this knowable principally by following their practical metaphysics in order to map out an actant's impact in daily life and the assemblages their lives represent. Latour argues that it really is not the place of the researcher to critique anything, because society, or visions of society are largely fictional, "a *cosa mentale*, a hypostasis, a fiction" (163). How do you critique fiction after all? Since the origins of critique lie in a false sense of a reality, then the critique is a fiction too. Critique then contributes to the construction of the social as much as it tries to excavate it, and to this I agree, but this does not make critique pointless. He writes,

Thus, all things considered, critiques of sociology of the social are misdirected if they forget to consider their extraordinary efficacy in generating one form of attachments: the social ones, or at least that part of the social that has been stabilized. There cannot be anything wrong in forming, formatting, or informing the social world (226).

Latour's argument, hard to simplify is that critique cannot stand outside of the observations it makes or the justness that it tries to see. His criticism attaches to critical approaches that pretend to be outside of the world they are critiquing - outside - of the reality they are presenting, but for PEOC this is not a problem. He says,

To add in a messy way to a messy account of a messy world does not seem like a very grandiose activity. But we are not after grandeur: the goal is to produce a science of the social uniquely suited to the specificity of the social in the same way that all other sciences had to invent devious and artificial ways to be true to the specific phenomena on which they wished to get a handle on. If the social circulates and is visible only when it shines through the concatenations of mediators, then this is what has to be replicated, cultivated, elicited, and expressed by our textual accounts. The task is to deploy actors as networks of mediations—hence the hyphen in the composite word 'actor-network'. Deployment is not the same as 'mere description', nor is it the same as 'unveiling', 'behind' the actors' backs, the 'social forces at work'. If anything, it looks more like a PCR amplification of some small DNA sample (136).

The form of pragmatic ethnography I employ is exactly a way of looking for this messy and diversely routed actor's experience based on what they say and do. It's goal is not merely to describe – description being what he hates most about critique – it is to examine this information as a means to co-creating knowledge about critical attitudes and options for meeting such goals *with* actors, not outside of that performance. Latour argued for the deployment of the actor "as part of networks of mediations" (136). In the context of the liminal community I am studying, everything is mediation of a kind, and the point of view that guides us through them is the actor. PEOC is a way to deploy the actor and the researcher (as a types of actants in this process) into the critical deliberations, the movements through time that these create and the potential for other critical action. These deliberations and mediations still inhere normative, practical,

political, emotional and other considerations that contribute to a sense of justice, and this to social critiques. Regardless of how I study it, the homeless who live in Dignity Village have perceptions of the world that guide their critique of social justice, or their lack of it, and it is these I follow. This is not to argue that a particular objective social reality or ideal just situation is conceivable or knowable in the scientific sense. Once again a diversity of such imaginings, mediations or whatever you choose to call them condition liminal communities towards complexity and an incapacity to act collectively.

5.3 Critical Philosophical Approaches

There are a number of ways to organize the philosophical roots to socially critical approaches. I am going to explore two critical approaches in great detail in the following chapters, Foucault's genealogical critique of governmentality and Boltanski's pragmatic sociology of critique because of the ways each structures my pragmatic ethnography of critique. Other approaches will fit into my argument so I briefly introduce these here. As a way to get there let me introduce two useful ways of understanding how critical philosophical positions organize the way critical social analysis is done.

One way is to identify how a criterion or a group of criteria are put to critical tests by actors, or by groups of actors. Biesta and Stams (2001) offer: *critical dogmatism*, *transcendental critique* and *deconstruction* as three main taproots from which "to be critical" can be understood (2001:1). They argue it should be noted however, that where dogma resists inclusion of other ideas, criticism can be inclusive of ideas that come from positions often thought of as divergent. Furthermore some dogmas might be correct.

Love your neighbor is perhaps an acceptable dogma. Dogmatism is a valid approach to explaining the world, as long as it reveals its underlying assumptions to debate.

Critical dogmatism requires the application of a given criterion or set of criteria to evaluate a "specific state of affairs" (Biesta 1998:475-477; Biesta and Stams 2001:60). The action of this kind of critique is dogmatic because the evaluation is geared toward understanding through the performance of the criterion, but the criterion, a sort of "truth," resides outside of the field being evaluated (Biesta and Stams 2001:60). In this case, the occupation of a park by homeless campers is argued by opponents and supporters on the basis of its constitutionality, a value defined in laws that exist outside of the action - people have a constitutional right to shelter, as one of the freedoms of being American, and this is transcendent and fundamental to all citizens, but what freedom means to differently held dogmatic versions of the truth becomes the source of a struggle for power.

One of the main difficulties in understanding resistance to alternative housing and homelessness claims like the shantytown, is that the issue, homelessness, is approached by sides having very different ideas, or truths, or who apply a number of truths to produce a discourse of truths about what is acceptable housing, and what are the moral limits on providing welfare to the less fortunate. Amongst activists, it is common to hear that current housing shortages are a violation of human rights. Hence many housing activists criticize the lack of effort by US housing authorities in light of this truth about the inalienable right to housing. They often invoke a Marxist lens, pitting the interest of capital and the economy against the basic rights of individuals. However, there is an equally vociferous camp, mostly from right-leaning conservatives that impose characterological defects onto homeless people, and therefore blame individuals rather

than government for the homelessness problem. They argue that people choose to be homeless, or at the very least, they don't have to be if they choose to act differently. While all sides agree that people have a right to housing, they debate whether camping in parks in tents or building shacks, constitutes acceptable housing. In effect, they are each correct, and they are each mistaken.[2] Dogmatism, then, tends to look at social problems from a particular moral position that largely disregards the values of other moral positions.[3] It does little to understand how those moral positions themselves might be constructed, and in the sense of justice for example, or understanding what is just, might lead to excavation of the judgments that make the claim.

Transcendental critique also conceives of the critical operation as the application of a criterion but whose meaning is open to dispute and argumentation. Originating in Kant's notion of transcendental philosophy, moral actors are rational, and as such they choose to act morally because the repercussions are favourable, or rational, to them as beings.[4] In this sense, the individual's freedom and autonomy are to be found in the liberty to act morally. Liberty and morality come to be understood as ideas manufactured for the domination of unwary individuals understood as resources under capitalism. Under Adorno (1947, 1951, 1966), Horkheimer (1930-38, 1947), and Marcuse (1933, 1940, 1964) Critical Theory in what is well known as the Frankfurt School, emerged as a normative form of Marxist inquiry based on the proposition that an alternative to prevailing social and political orders was always available even if not recognized. This is a normative-diagnostic approach that centered on revealing to the masses how they are duped by capital as a means of mobilizing society towards its immanent transcendence, which I take simply as its latent inherent capacity to change towards a more just order of

things. The Frankfurt School was primarily engaged in ideology critique that sought to demonstrate how false consciousness was affected onto subjects though capitalist run media, knowledge and other social institutions that served the interest of dominant (capitalist) ideology. As an empirically based sociology grounded in an image of society as political, critical theory sought to disclose a world of misleading facts, disguised by ideology, and to change the ways the world is envisioned (Delanty 2011:73).[5]

Transcendental critique suggests a style of critical thinking that looks to find performative contradictions. That is to say that it is a kind of internal critique, that takes as its starting point the presence of actors or ideas in the context of a group or a community, where actions often betray rational or accepted values about performance that pivots on a central criterion, and thereby the performance of ideas and values can be put to a test, an argumentation; we are duped or betrayed by ideologues and capital, but we can debate alternatives. Hence a proposition, or alternative is presented in terms of whether it is rational in that context or not but the key to action is an actor's functionality within communities of communication (Habermas 1987; Biesta and Stams 2001:65). The ability to present arguments and to comprehend the debate is essential to understanding how alternative means can achieve legitimate and just ends.

In this frame, the village represents a community in which the argument over reason and justification is taking place; a small lifeworld where argumentation and debates over various criteria of social justice constantly place actors in a position to question the root that led them to this place, and to look into this history for alternatives. Except they rarely do this. For them, transcendence means a revisiting of the activist arguments that led to this community. At least, this is the ideal of the village. This

possibility is immanent in the democratic structure of the village, and in the design of the village property, but is it reasonable or even useful there? Ibrahim's transcript would suggest an inherent conflict between what ought to be, and what is, and PEOC investigates the space created by this disjuncture. There is also the very real observation I made while there, and that others have noted, most notable Mosher (2010) that argumentation in the village is common, whereas resolution is not. This will become apparent when we discuss the argumentation that is present during council and other meetings in the following chapters.

In chapter six, I think as we go along, we will find that as much as the village inheres the immanence of this liberty, that is the "promise" or capacity to provide democratic participation – all voices to be heard equally – the way the village does not function well as a democracy suspends this possibility in a liminal stage - it never has been imminent – to Derrida's chagrin, it might not even be a democracy yet to arrive, despite its immanence - this is what makes it perpetually liminal. If it hasn't by now, why should it in the future? Of course Derrida, understands the future to be forever, a sort of constant goal, but the village does not have infinity to prove itself. One of the arguments I have made repeatedly to villagers is that they need to understand how to invite new modes of participation into their community in order to achieve the democratic functionality they seek. Villagers have had a hard time seeing that possibility because the legacy of being "self-governed" is very narrowly interpreted. In asking villagers to imagine doing things differently, pragmatic inquiry provokes a certain mysterious flirtation with the unknown, and not to annoy Latour, actively seeks a way to adjoin villagers and my work as a mutually constitutive form of critique. We can look at

Derrida (1996) as a way of understanding how to look for diversity by dismantling the way we think about things but there is no way to guarantee that even in the face of obvious truth, if such a thing were possible, villagers might act towards it.

Derrida's *metaphysical exigency* is the tendency of western philosophy to look at "presence" in terms of its natural, whole, and self-sufficient qualities, instead of interior qualities of decay, complication and accident (Derrida 1988:93).[6] Derrida's argument is that we can never isolate ourselves, no our inquiries from this tendency because it is the tradition out of which we have emerged as cognizant and articulate beings. Hence, all ideas, representations and critiques inhere some dogmatic qualities. His project is to show that "being", and ideas about any "thing" cannot be understood without discerning how they come to make sense in relation to other beings, states or ideas or things, sometimes referred to as *elements*. This is a pseudo-metaphysical issue. There are no self-sufficient meanings. So the goal is to discern how things achieve meaning by their articulation with other things in *that* structure their togetherness produces (1978, 1991).[7] Perhaps we can think of this as the mediations of ideas in networks of ideas. It is though a process of deconstruction, of dismantling, that this articulation is made knowable.

Deconstruction has a unique way of contributing to critique. The two prior forms of critique assume that one can critique extant and observable states of being or structural conditions of knowing based on the degree to which identifiable external concepts and positions can be inserted into the arguments that are present. Deconstruction tries to open up such systems to an awareness of what is generally not thought of within that system; deconstruction affirms knowledge not simply of what is known to be excluded from the system, but affirms what is wholly other, what is unforeseeable from the present as it

appears to be (67-68). The key to this is exposing the conditions that make an idea or state of affairs possible, but for this there is no word, just a specific way that elements impact the future possibility of others; this he called *différrance*. There is no material or grammar for understanding this imminent or emergent quality, it is as yet to be known, and therefore does not look to know what is excluded from a system, but provides an openness to what is not foreseeable (Derrida 1992:27 in Biesta and Stams 2001:68). Derrida insisted deconstruction was neither method nor form of analysis and as such, this "non-method" does not seek to contain ideas or to re-present the conditions of possibility for extant notions; it seeks to suggest, perhaps more correctly than to say, *'understand'* the inevitability of invention, of the "otherness" contained in systems and programs and anticipations (Derrida 1991:27). Biesta and Stams (2001:68) suggest it is this concern to find or to understand what is wholly other from a system that deconstruction is not merely critical, but seeks justice as its outcome by revealing how what we take to be the natural state of things can be opened up to new ways of doing and being – inequality and domination are not natural vectors of association simply because we experience them. Something has made them so. In their sense of it, the justness of the deconstructive method is opening up to inclusion, what has been excluded, and this then is the matter of social justice.

The judgment deconstruction offers comes from a different place than dogmatic or transcendental critique. There are no absolute truths, so no way to impose a dogma of any kind. There is no way to argue the case for an idea in fair and reasonable communities of consensus, because Derrida would argue there is no way to guarantee language is capable of expressing the un-expressible—which is quite literally the point of

différrance. Unlike the former, it is not pitched onto an idea from behind the rationale construction of an external ideal or truth; unlike the latter, it doesn't result from within communities of communication as the result of actors' judgments about performance of a criterion because the "universally" just criterion cannot really be known, since the identification of the criterion is generated by the same system that generates its need. The contribution of deconstruction, is that it points to the fact that critical criteria are not self-sustained, or self-actualized units of meaning, they require events or information outside of themselves to become relevant; the elements of activist critique of homelessness are meaningless without the housing policies to critique; without the unpredictable actions and reactions of bureaucrats, media and activists that condition the critical action itself. Such action is not only unpredictable, but only critical in the degree to which it disrupts the routinized modes of signification that represent the injustice. For shantytown dwellers, their self-meaning becomes structured by their very connection to one another in the structures of resistance produced by homelessness. Otherwise they become mere wards of the state. This is why Ibrahim is so adamant that village residents must get out there and activate with other homeless people. It is a means to complete their meaning in the struggle to which they owe their community. Then again, there is the resistance their community faces because of the way it disrupts the comfort of conventional communities that prioritize the home as normal. The shantytown becomes part of a critique because of what it represents to systems of signifiers in a complex system of meanings about space and normalcy, rather than for what actually takes place in the village. If the villager is not out there in that debate, joining the conventional world through charity or

volunteering, perhaps working or going to school, then they have no way of inflecting what their lives mean into the construction of conventional imaginaries.

Hence, deconstruction finally seeks to "open up critique for its own uncritical assumptions…not to destroy, but rather to affirm what is excluded and forgotten, to open up the possibility of the unforeseeable" (70). Very often, as the ethnographic transcriptions of this dissertation show, conversations at Dignity Village were set on the axis of wanting to know how to change the way things were, but villagers were not aware of how things actually played out *in their time*, in their previous and current experience of things. They had perceptions but not an analytical awareness of their connection to systems of power and dependence. Furthermore, to demonstrate a more just system than American democracy even to the homeless is no mean task. Take for example the following experience I had in Dignity Village.

In 2010, one of the first people I met at the village was John Boy Hawkes. He had been released from prison and was camping in a friend's backyard the year before, when a villager, Brad Powell, told him to try the village. The following descriptive anecdote taken from my film, *Space Places and States of Mind*, (2010) speaks to the fact that villagers very often don't understand their poverty, the lack of housing or any other measure of the human condition they endure as a function of the American way of life - democracy is sound and so is America.

Transcribed from DS DISC 3, *Spaces Places…* at 56:00 - John Boy Hawkes, June 2010)
John Boy lives in a small shack, a half structure called a dorm. He has only been in the village for a year and is waiting for a full structure for himself. It amounts to little more than 2X4 struts and beams, clad in chipboards, plastic and peeling paint. Sit has one door, a bed, a few shelves, and two foot by three-foot window. He has many decorations tacked to the walls,: Japanese fans and art, lace and other fabrics. Several large and boldly placed Stars and Stripes. His personal belongings, including clothes and other goods are piled in heaps here and there, stuffed under his bed. It is dusty and stuffy, but

still this is better than street, and it is safer than they lawn heh ad been camped out on, safer that is because the cops can't hassle him here in the village. Freshly released from jail, he had nowhere to go. He had gone from "one crazy place to another crazy place." Being in the wilderness with a tent and a sleeping bag, " Ain't all its cracked [sic]out to be," he said. Like Terry Potts had said earlier that year in an interview in Toronto, " I dunno, man, I need something to do, to be part of something. If I don't have that I get into trouble, I don't know what to do." Jon Boy didn't know Terry, but I shared that comment with him. He understood it well. Nodding his head the entire time, he admitted that the stress of street life is often misunderstood by people who don't have recourse to it as "What did Reagan say, that prick? Ah yeah, a sort of choice you would say? Isn't that what he said?" I concurred.[8] Looking around Jon Boy's space it was impossible to ignore the prominence of the flags.
"How important is patriotism to you?" I ask.
Well my door has flag on it, my wall has a flag on it, I got a flag here… I… I'm a pretty goo… I'm a patriot! You know? I don't believe that I would go anywhere lese and kill people for us, but damned sure it they're gonna come here, I'll be the first one to pick up a rock and stick and fight like a caveman!"

The metaphysical exigency of philosophers is equally persuasive amongst the Dignity homeless who struggle to comprehend a freedom or autonomy in any manner other than what has been taught to them in the past. There were thirty American flags in the village, stars and stripes flapping in the wind, dusted in compost tailings from the city waste facility only yards away from where people ate, washed and slept. People walked around in T-shirts with the Stars and Stripes silk screened front and back. Fourth of every July they walked the half mile from the camp to the Columbia river, and sneaked onto a small cove that only the homeless folks and cops knew of and from which they were usually ousted by cops, and they raised beers, bon fire burning, toasting "America the Beautiful,"

"America! America!
God shed His grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!"

On July 4, 2011 when I sat with them looking at the fireworks, they sang "Oh Canada" for me, as a tribute to my nationality. They didn't know the tune, so it came out

in the harmonies and rhythms of "Happy Birthday." It was eerie, Laura B., Dave M. Steve and Carol, Lisa and Scot, wasted on beer and smoking joints. The bonfire lighting up their faces, as for miles, literally 60 miles up and down the Columbia, fireworks went off to celebrate American Independence, and I listened to: "Oh Canada, Oh Canada, Oh Canada to you…" because they had no idea what the words were, but they figured that I was like them, a patriot above all us. It seemed almost indecent to me that they would be so enraptured in celebration of the same system that marginalized and trivialized them. As I filmed this display, I had to wonder how they could feel so strongly towards a country that was failing them at so many levels. Rather than blame the way that their democracy and the economy worked, they accepted the mistakes they had made, and there they remained. They could see the flaws in their system, but it was easier to blame themselves because they could not see other systems as a solution. I was Canadian after all, and to them, my country was *socialist* because we had health care. They were at the point of awareness where going any further would have had to lead to an indictment of their perceptions of the American Dream, and that they were not prepared to do.

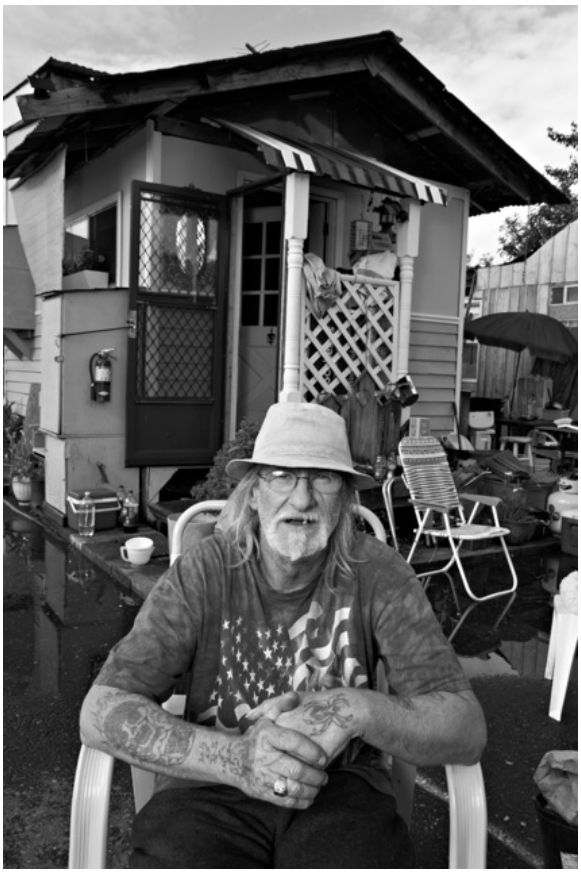


Fig. 14. Dave Sullivan. Long Time Villager at his structure.
July 2011 (N. Dickson)

5.4 Five Categories of Critique - Finding Space to Act

Taking the three basic ways of approaching critique helps us to isolate the mechanics of the critical deliberation that can inspire action towards justice. They do little for explaining why action is not taken. Within these ways of seeing are some classical traditions that can be distinguished by how they problematize critiques of social justice around truth and power. Delanty categorizes five approaches into two groups: the first includes Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School, which I have discussed, Bourdieu's Critical Sociology and Roy Bhaskar's Critical Realism, although my reading of this school is primarily through Sayer (2000) and Archer (2003). The second includes Foucault's genealogical critique and Boltanski, Chiapello and Thévenot's pragmatic

sociology of critique. Delanty makes these distinctions on the basis that the former group looks for ways that normative truth is imposed on the power of individuals by structural and normative systems that control how individuals act. Critical action then is empowered by a truthful normative proposition that is either widely held to be true, or that is presented in a contest over normative criteria, where the criteria present a certain proposition that people argue about, but are empowered by. They stress a macro form of analysis where reality, observable or not as an objective phenomenon, imposes experiences of injustice on actors that cause them to question the state of things. In this case truth becomes power, by providing reasonable cause for action. In the latter group, power is truth. These are largely discourse-oriented approaches that look at how knowledge created about subjects or by them, is empowering and also, potentially overpowering. Theirs is a micro level of analysis that wants to understand the ways that individual actors experience power, and come to be political in critical self-transformative processes that occur in a socially constructed and therefore objectively impossible world.

5.5 Critical Sociology

Of the first group, we have already introduced Critical Theory. I will speak to Habermas in places, especially in chapters five and six, where communicative acts and issues of "reason" came into play in the history of the village. I want to look at Critical Sociology now. Bourdieu's Critical Sociology also tries to understand the limits on critical capacity by the ways that structures limit this through restraining cultural practices or what he called habitus. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1972), Bourdieu

provides an important step towards integrating structural and subjective explanations of social realities. Without wanting to provide a treatise on Bourdieu and his many works, it is important to understand that his direction in social thought was in part an attempt to provide a bridge between phenomenology and structuralism. The long-standing antimony between objective and subjective foci in the social sciences is bridged by his use of *habitus*, which includes a system of dispositions, which an agent develops in response to structural forces (1972: intro). The individual or subject as an actor with agency internalizes these structural forces in a personalized mental and somatic set of manners and behaviours within the *field*, be it art, politics, work and so on and thus the objective and subjective are synthesized and compatible.

Bourdieu in this model of "generative structuralism" explains that the subject has little (initial) say about his or her disposition towards choice, having been born into particular cultural and class-based value systems that code the body from birth, through ways of "standing, speaking and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking* (Bourdieu 1972:32; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Vandenberghe 1999; Lizardo 2009). A *doxic* relationship emerges, doxa being a deep internalized set of beliefs and understandings in the agent, particular to field (setting-structure, like art, culture, food, work…) which favour the "rules" of the field, and therefore satisfy the need of those vested powers and structures, which underpin the field. The individual, by involvement in the field, submits to the implicit rule that acts against it are incongruent and unacceptable. His use of *field* differs from Lefebvre, where the usage implies three distinct parameters of being, the social, physical and mental, which manifest into types of spaces (1971:34). Predating contemporary feminist theoretical concerns with the body and embodied difference as

both material and symbolic grounds for experience and subjectivity, Bourdieu (1972) argued that the body is the source of cultural reproduction for, it is in the body that subjective qualities combine with the social and cultural world. Mediation of the "social/cultural "is a somatic process; the body mediates subjectivity and the "objective" world (32). According to Delanty 2011,

> Bourdieu's conception of critique is double edged. On the one side, it is a critique of power and inequality and, on the other, it is a critique of the received wisdom and institution of science, which he terms' doxa'. Critique is thus both aimed at the viewpoint of the habitus and scholarly' doxa'. Against the later he aims to show that social scientific knowledge is caught up in the paradox of being an account of the social world while itself being a creation of a specific institution of the social world, for science is an institution. Indeed, many of Bourdieu's studies have been designed to apply the self-critique of social science to itself, showing how particular fields of power and the habitus lie behind academic activity (81).

Criticism of Bourdieu usually focuses on how its critical capacity really only extends to understanding how forms of capital accumulation – social, symbolic, cultural and economic – are repeatedly generated by structural properties of society. This has traditionally suggested that normative or moral transcendence by weaker elements is impossible, and that freedom is limited to the opportunities afforded by habitus. Freedom is not *impossible* within Bourdieu's critical sociology. Hilgers (2009) suggests that freedom is one of the most recurrent themes in discussions of habitus. Hilgers suggests that in an epistemological sense, habitus is not confining or deterministic. There are three elements of Bourdieu's construction of habitus that provide openings to understanding the freedom that habitus can impart on actors. The first is the production of an infinite number of behaviours from a limited set of principles, the second is permanent mutation and the last is the intensive and extensive limits of sociological understanding (Hilgers 2009:730-732).

The first of these parameters suggests that while habitus is a dominant force of cultural inscription and social structural organization, it affords actors, who are unique in terms of their being separate from other actors in a corporeal and metaphysical sense, a set of principles that allow for interpretation. Furthermore, various principles can be said to be operative at different times in one's life, or at different times in one's day, and so it is difficult to ascertain whether having principles is emancipating or limiting. As Hilgers suggests, "the form of rules at the heart of these 'matrices' functioning are limited but transposable to a plurality of contexts, and their content can vary infinitely" (730).

Permanent mutation suggests that by participating in practices of habitus, the actor in effect invests them with unique qualities, and also that because such practices are exposed to heterogeneous contexts and situations, the degree to which adherence or change might follow from a practice can't be said to be self-contained by the practice itself. The dynamism of habitus in flux is something that can only be witnessed as it is happening. This clearly aligns with Archer's (2003) sense of analytic dualism (which we discuss momentarily) insomuch as actors are said to influence structures, to influence other actors and that the inverse is true also. Rather than being solely a matter of downward or central conflation, (on which grounds, she condemned Giddens Structuration) the very idea of causation is left to the possibility of being questionable because while it can be argued that habitus is essentially a collective experience, there is no way to gauge the collectiveness of this experience because any recounting of practices by different actors, or even the witnessing of practices by observers can only ever be approximate (Hilgers 2009:731). Even if there is a "structural unity" between members of a community, individual experiences of that context will vary widely.

Hence wrapped up in this second point is the third, namely that we study what and how we can. In the empirical sense, obtaining enough data to know each actor's experience in a modern city for example would be impossible, quite literally, impossible, so Bourdieu suggests we invoke "conditional totalizations"; a theoretical proposition limited by the incapacity to produce empirical results that remains "hypothetical," and often in the absence of violent upheavals, makes it hard to see change (Hilgers 2009:732). This in part has influenced my choice to invoke a type of storytelling and conversational form of data collection. Furthermore, I am not looking at the village as a social movement, but rather a site of discursive and practical value to homeless activists. It is a small place, and if not completely knowable, much more so than a large population.

Hilger's argument is that these three premises offer sufficient ambiguity and unpredictability to practices that the "hypothetical" possibility of a departure from common experience is not impossible. In this sense, critique must anticipate liminal mental and structural spaces as providing the potential for unanticipated results, and these I argue give the actor a sense if not the actual capacity of freedom. Systems beak down, economies fail, disasters happen and people lose homes. These are ruptures in the way anticipated life happens and present moments where actors might exercise new choices. Clearly Bourdieu was less concerned with change, than forces that restrict. While habitus suggests acceptable ways of achieving necessary ends to actors distributed across different fields, there is enough instability in its performance to allow for change. Later in this chapter, Rose (1999) and Dean (2010) approach the concepts of freedom and autonomy within a Foucauldian model of governmentality, as the values that neoliberalism produces across cultures and classes in order to shape this choice making.

It is correct to not immediately confuse unpredictability with freedom. Within his system of class and habitus, Bourdieu has constructed a situation where freedom, to be *freedom*, must be understood as a feature of or resulting from *regulating* mechanisms, and this in many ways ties back to Derrida's auto immunity problem with Democracy – freedom happens under regulation which demands the restraint of some to the benefit of others.

It is perhaps a truism by now that there is no need for a concept like freedom, in the absence of restraint. How is necessity converted into free choice, and how can this conversion be regulative enough to maintain structures intact, while satisfying the autonomous goal of the actor? Critical sociology says that habitus works because it produces in fields a synthetic mechanism that links necessity with choice. In other words, actors choose from a set of practically oriented behaviours within fields, but with enough sense of self-determinism (according to what they know of freedom and autonomy) to satisfy the basic expectation of personal liberty, within practices that do not deride the overall security of structures into which these practices are embedded. The key to critical action for Bourdieu then, and which is not impossible, is to locate how actors come to change the way they "feel" (habitus) about how things are done in situations (fields).

It is fair to point out that not all power exerted by structures is bad or dominating. Some of it is designed to afford individuals opportunity. Indeed one might argue that under neoliberalism, opportunity is the propagandizing of freedom. According to Bourdieu, habitus "is an ordering principle of regulated improvisation, it generates practices that tend to "reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of their generative principle, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation" (Bourdieu 1972/1977:78, in Hilger 2009:739). Ultimately,

while habitus instills limits and bounds to the creative and inventive capacities of actors, freedom comes to be defined by the ability to make choices within that range of constraint.[9] Still that choice making moment is often under-recognized because of the tendency to look at antecedent narratives, structural or moral imperatives, as impacting internal deliberative practices in actors. For Bourdieu, the practical and common sense experience of the subject is already cast by her habitus in various fields, and so deliberative aspects in these areas of mundane life don't have anything to do with self-transformative critical attitude. As much as I want to understand how actors make alternative choices to how things are commonly done, I think that common sense and very subjective, even imaginary aspects of the actor impact her as matters of a pragmatic nature.

I have to argue as Archer (2003) does, that very often, actions with structural implications occur in a place of which we can only know its relics or phenomenological expressions, its objective truth is beyond the capacity of knowing in an empirical or positivist sense. Delanty suggests a connection between Critical Sociology and Critical Realism. They each are explanatory exercises. The former wants to "unmask" the limits of common sense, and the latter, the limits of empirical reality as a source for critical attitude (2011:80). There are other similarities in the work of critical realists and Bourdieu.

5.6 Critical Realism

Critical realism stems from the premise that through our primary senses we are able to discern objective physical truths about the world, yet our secondary perceptual

senses often misinterpret this "pure" information. So it is necessary to be critical of realism (Sayer 2000; Bhaskar 1975). From a critical point of view, this means we must be critical of what we sense to be real, because, given the same set of physical stimuli, a variety of misinterpretations might arise among individuals. The opposition of the two ways of knowing is between a *mind-dependent* experience of the world that tries to comprehend a *mind-independent* reality. In a very broad sense, this approach suggests that the representative value of objects, and by extension, events often linked with objects, are constitutive of basic perception, and therefore, perceptions about reality are key to our understanding of critical processes.[10]

Very simply, for critical realism, reality is largely non-observable and highly contingent but there are objective underlying structures that shape action. Margaret Archer (1995, 2001, 2003) had argued that sociology suffers from the problem of conflation in the sense that the tendency of sociology to present social phenomena as oppositional, structure and agency for example, has created a situation where we tend to see causation as a unilateral or one-sided affair. In the sense that structure is seen as causal, one speaks of *downward conflation*. In the case of agency affecting structure, one speaks of *upward conflation*. Structuration, as proposed by Giddens (1984) suggests *central conflation* whereby each, structure and agency are mutually implicated in the agency of actors (Archer 1995).

Archer's *analytical dualism* (1995:165-94) is a way to overcome the conflating tendency of traditional modes of thinking. In this model, one starts with the assumption that structures exist, and are real, but not directly observable. Pre-existing structures influence the agency of actors, whose subsequent action in turn produces new and

different structures aligned with the goals and objectives of actors in concert or acting independently. This is an open-ended process. The future is indeterminate because the subsequent results in a proposed future are unknowable. However, she argues that it is possible to trace the elaboration of the articulation between agents and structures – to unpick them - through a process of analyzing what she calls *morphogenetic sequences* (ibid). Looking at independently oriented actor-structure sequences, which contribute to overall social systems, allows the researcher opportunity to discern how such sequences were internally produced - what their internal dynamics were. In this way Archer finds means to link agents and structures in social outcomes.

Critical realism tends to observe ontological arguments before epistemological arguments, since they are more concerned with the structure of social reality, and because they argue that objective reality is not observable even though it is there. The action of individuals give evidence of the choices they make often based on unforeseen or unobservable ontological experiences that contribute to a uniquely understood sense of reality. In much the way that Latour's (2005:64-68) "personal metaphysics" unites us with an understanding of ontological imperatives that lead to an actor's understanding of social reality, critical realists similarly suspend imposing a measure of reality onto the socially constructive powers or engagement of actors in their own lives, except they do say there is a structure that underscores social relations even if we cannot see it. We see its results in the ways people choose to act in it. Archer says, "People are indeed perfectly uninteresting if they possess no personal powers which can make a difference" (2000:19).

Critical realism then is critical for the way it problematizes reality as a category of knowledge for actors. Another departure for the critical realists is the engagement of actors in a world that is not merely social nor simply agential, but imbued with other physical, spiritual and unknown qualities that have impact on what people do. This once again unites it with Latour. In *We have Never Been Modern*, Latour argues that strategies and political ideas might take the form of arguments or discourses, but that they also manifest in forms like missiles, or tax forms, or police actions. As such it is impossible to separate the idea from the material and non-human aspects of its possibility (1993:41-43, 98-100, 103-105). The tendency to separate culture from Nature is a fallacy of modernism, equally dealt with by critical realism.[11]

It is simplistic to say that the cultural realist model is simply a way of explaining how everything in nature, which stands independently of our knowledge of it, and therefore has an independent objective reality, is related to explaining special consequences, such as the events of one's day. This is not the case. The emergent nature of cultural reality in human actors is embedded across three axes; the *empirical*, the *actual* and the *real* (Sayer 2000:11). The empirical is what we see as observers, and what the actor perceives or experiences as a result of daily life events. The actual refers to a world of events with consequences that are produced by the real domain. The real refers to the underlying structures or *generative mechanisms* that have determining power but which owe their existence to other mechanisms outside of their own activation and exist beyond the immediate observations of the observer (ibid). These mechanisms include institutional arrangements and individual social actors. Within this perspective, the

critical goal of social science is to reveal the objective reality of the real that exists beyond our primary sensory apparatuses.

Critical realism, for the most part, is guided by the inevitability of multifarious causal relationships between different mechanisms, and between different actors; actors in themselves become mechanisms to the degree to which they influence the consequences of other peoples' actions, and by the actions they take having effects on the structures in which they are engaged. Hence an actor is part structure, and structures are part actors. The critical access points in this mode occur within and between the three levels of understandable phenomena so there is no default "reality" in which to place the actions of defined actors and structures, nor a single external point of query to initiate a critique. One might sense a certain degree of vagueness in this simple summary. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to treat cultural realism in its entirety. Margaret Archer (1996, 2003) has sought to explain how actors enter into processes of critique and critical action by defining a new locus of freedom; the individual's inner-self that is already composed by its experience of other mechanisms and linkages.

Archer's construction of the "internal conversation" (2003) is a way to understand how the freedom and autonomy of actors and also thereby their potential for critique really reside beyond any observable phenomenon. Although she expresses the tendency of cultures to limit freedom, in the senses that one might be limited by language or custom, or by experience, freedom always appears a matter of choice (1996). Freedom, however, must not be understood as the constant value that underwrites all action and choice. Freedom is especially expressed in transformative moments and events. Archer supports the idea that all moments of cultural reproduction inhere the possibility of

change, which is essentially a problem with liminality (Archer 1996:91-93). Interestingly she argues quite astutely that the very limitation one's generation perceives of in its ideals about freedom, are often the mechanisms the previous generation created in pursuit of what it called freedom. Hence, Freedom, like the individual, is subject to change, and universal discussions that beyond locating where ideas of freedom are computed (the internal conversation) are moot unless situated in actual cases. The key to understanding reality, the key to engaging in a critique or to understand broader social communities of critique, therefore, cannot be found outside of the intimate thoughts of the individual. The main thesis of Archer's (2003) *Structure, Agency and The Internal Conversation*, is that social agents compute and imagine the results of thorough reflexive deliberations about their ultimate concerns in an existential and deeply personal context to which they commit themselves as the result of an "internal conversation". The causal powers of mechanisms, the links between structure and agency are mediated in a thought process that determines how actors align themselves with the social or political projects that create the *appearance*, literally appearance in a phenomenological sense, of this agency. In other words, it is not the case that actors are engaged in all actions that might take place in a social system.

Structures or mechanisms cannot be said to be effective in the capacity of producing the same outcomes for all actors, or for each actor in the same pattern over time and space. So, for example of a critical action that meets resistance, protesters who resist the imposing of an oil pipeline might unite and blockade a road. Likely the protesters will meet with executive force, police or soldiers. The *choice* of protesters to be at *this* protest is based on the internalization of experience for which there exists no

universal anticipatory test in social science as such. An actor who does not protest that plant, will not experience the same resistance, this seems obvious. However, if the same non-protester becomes a protester on another site, because they are personally motivated by cruelty to animals, and they decide to picket a lab, they are likely to meet some form of resistance, or to be in a contest in which they must resist other mechanisms. So resistance as an example of action towards issues of justice, is universal only in so much as people choose to be in a contest, but not all gatherings of protest, nor all gatherings in any sense, can presume a reaction out of a knowable future based on structural probabilities. Resistance may have the same net goals, but the form it actually takes in practice, contributes to a variety of internalized experiences that create the matter of internal conversations. In a sense this ultimate potential for action suggest that there are always mechanisms, but that the engagement of actors within them is merely latent, so there is no way to determine how agency will effect structure, nor vice versa except in concrete terms. Delanty (2011) suggests that this is a general weakness of the critical realism model; despite claiming to be a model of social transformation, it "does not offer much in the way of an interpretation of how social change happens" because there is no concrete model of events and actions, actors and mechanisms that provides any kind of anticipatory capacity (77).

Hence, a mechanism's total effect on action or agency is unpredictable, and the idea that empirical observation can possibly observe the entirety of human complexity that might be represented by it, is misdirection. The only constant in all this, is something that sociology has had a hard time dealing with, the internal mechanisms of the social being. So while mechanisms and structures can be said to exist, the individual

articulates her own objectives and values from an immeasurable range of such things as they may be made aware to her from her experience, and by exercising choice can be said to mediate her own social and cultural reality. This is freedom.

In line with Bourdieu's (1977) *generative structuralism,* the internal conversation takes place in the actor as she mediates her places in a field though her perception of habitus. Society therefore is either reproduced to the degree that actors act commensurately with habitus, or it might change, to the degree that situations arise where the internal conversation creates the need for alternate ways of doing things. Actors are determined, but not by structure, not by agency as such, but by the way an internal conversation produces agency in various alignments with established practices or towards to new ends. This has implications for practical undertakings for social scientists, especially as it regards critical action and critique.

Delanty suggests that much of the force behind critical realism is the detailed illustration of myriad and complex connections between things and the mechanisms that have power over the consequences of these connections. In this sense, it parallels much of the classical structural analysis of society, but also finds affinity with Latour's Actor Network Theory[12] (Law 2004; Latour 2005), Social Network Analysis (Wellman 1991) and in fact incorporates much of the network language in its formulations (Sayer 2000). Furthermore, it suggest a pattern of connectivity between mechanisms, and between mechanisms and consequences, that while not necessarily random, since it corresponds to an undiscerned objective reality, still inheres dendritic and polymorphous nature that is rhizomatic in a Deleuzean sense and that suggests a readiness to deal with the messy and often chaotic manner in which critiques and critical actions manifest. Hence despite

many critiques of critical realism, the strengths of critical realism are in its interest in going beyond the empirical or apparent. In doing so, it asks to keep in mind the underlying mechanisms that shape the imbroglios and other events that actors alternatively step into and out of largely on their own volition. This mode of critique is also open ended, allowing for the actor's agency in any one action for example to be linked to their experience in many others. Furthermore, there is no reason to separate out the actions of agents, nor the influence of structures, since ultimately each system is implicated in the consequences of the other, and so it is a forward looking mode of understanding. A such, normative mechanisms, spiritual mechanisms, authoritative others, can all be generative in the sense of a particular action, because their effect, following Archer, is computed, perhaps correlated into consequences within the actor as a internal conversation.

The implication of critical realism, for understanding critical ideas about freedom and autonomy is that ultimately, choice resides in the individual and they have the power to reconcile the influence of various mechanisms internally. Hence, predictability is not so likely from a critical realism perspective, but understanding an event, or a consequence, unraveling the links between mechanisms and consequences back though time, in order to see their current status is very much the end result.[13]

Delanty argues that, like Foucault, critical realism is about power (77). But in the former power is generally assumed to be everywhere, something all people have, and domination is less common, and generated by technologies of government (the state) as a means to regulating power relationships, or for CR in particular *generative mechanisms* (Lemke 2001:5; Delanty 2011:77). In CR, power is perceived as generated by

mechanisms, and catalyzed or rejected in the internal conversation (Archer 2003; Turner 2008; Delanty 2011).

Each of the previous modes of critique suggest that sociological critique can identify how domination happens as the result of objective and asymmetrical distributions of power. They suggest that transcendent truth about a just state of affairs can be mobilized to overcome inequalities and domination, as a way of giving the dominated power to overcome objectively understood structures of domination. They also understand the role of the researcher or social scientist to be in a better position to understand these hidden systems or internal mechanisms than the person whose common sense awareness is all they really have—what critical capacity they have on their own is really limited to their first hand experience of situations. This places a moral burden on social critique to determine means by which to identify the just cause and to pursue it. Put another way, the mission of critique is to demonstrate how truth is dominated, and to argue for means out of this suppression.

The usefulness of these three approaches is subject to debate. For my purposes, I see the importance of structural tendencies to control actors as a matter of concern for freedom or for critical action. Critical theory is weak largely because it cannot prove a false consciousness, nor can it demonstrate how social transformation on the scale it argued for can happen. It's value to my work is to consider the implicit and unpublicized ways that power works to control others – to dominate, if you wish, though media, powerful institutions in the service of capital, envisioned in my work as central to neoliberalism and the governance that oversee Dignity Village. Bourdieu, if taken in the generous parameters I have extended, leaves room for actors to act, but he has very much

underplayed the unique and commonsensical types of critical moments that impinge on the choice to act, in the sense of activists' breaks with habitus. Critical realism wants to give it all to us, a sort of holistic critical perspective, but it is difficult in several ways. First, it assumes that there is a basic structure to the world, and I in agreement with Latour have said earlier that I do not see this. Furthermore, there is no way to understand how the critical attitudes expressed in conversational types link up to lead to acts of resistance, or to form socially transformative critique, nor to anticipate how research might impact this. I find the idea of an inner conversation very interesting, but I cannot see its applicability to anything but ideal situations. The idea of conversational "types" is difficult to support in reality. People change their arguments frequently and often say and act in contradicting manners. It is in fact these contradictions between ideas and action that Boltanski will speak too at the end of the following section. In the cases of Tent City or Dignity Village, on the street and even entering housing, for the first time in many years, the people I have worked with experience ambiguous transformations, and the conversations, the ideas they come to find some recourse to, all these things are not typical nor static. So I want to see that there is an internal conversation, but I understand it reflects the shifting and merging critical attitudes of liminal personae, and so of types there can be none.

All three of these positions furthermore, as I stated earlier, suggest that there is truth out there, that must be known to the actor for her to act. And they leave no room for anticipating or understanding action generated in spaces or modes of living that are poorly formed in terms of structural or other cultural values - of ambiguous and liminal cultural spaces like the village, they are of little use, in that sense. The next two

approaches reverse the fundamental arrangement of truth over power, arguing that you cannot mobilize truth to produce power because power is truth. Foucault's genealogical approach is a deconstructive form of critique[14] in the sense that he seeks to understand how problems come to be imagined as they are by powerful people, subjects, groups and government. Essentially he argues that there is no truth outside of power, that power creates what societies take as true by creating powerful discourse and provides technologies of the self though education, medicine, science and so on by which subjectivities learn what power wants us to think about ourselves. So social critique wants to ask how a certain way of knowing has come to be thought of by regimes of power, and might be thought of otherwise. This is essentially the question, I have asked villagers.

5.7 Foucault and Genealogical Critique

Foucault writes,

"Genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times" (Foucault in Rabinow 1984:76).

Despite that often cited quote, genealogy is a difficult concept to define, and then even harder to easily describe against other forms of historical analysis, including Foucault's prior attachment to "archaeology" (1967, 1969). Assuming that one can accept the differences between Derrida's deconstructionism and Foucault's approach, one can also accept that there are similarities.[15] Perhaps most importantly is a shared interest in understanding how current affairs come to be understood in a certain way, and to reveal other ways of seeing an issue, such as madness or democracy. During the 1960's

before his turn away from structuralism, Foucault described his method of writing the past as "archaeology" (1967, 1969). In *The Order of Things* (1967), Foucault agues that history itself is not a safely packaged record of events, but a telling story of how reality is constructed by dominant epistemes of a place and a time, and converted into the way certain "eventalizations," of a time are treated or experienced, such as madness ([1961] 2006). History then was not about point in time events, but about thought and ideas since history as written manifested these and not the essence of anything tangible per se. "What is madness," is not as important as, "how is schizophrenia now understood?" The archaeological method was useful as a way of understanding how to compare different points of view about similar concepts, such as madness, between cultures or time periods, but could do little to explain *how* such notions shifted and changed over (through) time, from episteme to episteme as it were.[16] Genealogical critique looks at how powerful regimes of knowledge manufacture the object of discourses that impact how subjects understand the world. Governmentality then is a result of how government comes to be imagined throughout time.

A "history of the present" as Foucault's work is often called, is "mental" space in which to advance a critical appraisal of practices or ideas, rather than to impose the key elements of a dogma about power or historical patterns in a epistemic view of the world at all times (Dean 1994). Dean (1991, 1994, 2010) correctly suggests that Foucault's idea of governmentality is "less a technique of the empirical sciences" and is more of a way to keep in touch with the processes of knowledge production by which life attains relevance to actors. However, the routes by which this relevance is directed into the action of social

actors are divergently constructed, and it is by understanding this construction of action that critique can convert into action capable of displacing power.

Foucault's work on governmentality employs a genealogical approach, which provokes criticism. "Genealogy is characterized as a diagnostic of the present by 'problematizing' taken-for-granted assumptions and *anti-anachronistic* refusal to read the past in terms of the present" (Dean 2010:3). Governmentality, however, is not simply about the government that controls us administratively, but is critical analysis directed towards understanding modes of constructing the self (Delanty 2011:83). Genealogical criticism stands out against classical "critique," such as that associated with the Frankfurt school, as a form of criticism under the frame of "universal norms and truths pointing to a necessary end" (Dean 1991:3). Most importantly, as Dean (1991, 2010) and others (Gordon 1991; Hacking 1999) note, Foucault's genealogical approach carries a certain *burden* of critique, and it cannot remain descriptive or contented with simple observations or the reduction of events to universalizing principles that bear no moral or ethical consequence for society.

Foucault asserts that neoliberalism is "not Adam Smith; neo-liberalism is not the Gulag on the insidious scale of capitalism" (1978:131). Neoliberalism(s) describe an indefinite range of rationalities and references to a style of liberal government and therefore to speak of an ideal type of neoliberalism is impossible. Rose and Miller (1992) suggest that all rationalities are moral, epistemological and idiomatic. To understand a rationale therefore, means to discern how these qualities are uniquely manifest.[17] My understanding of neoliberalism is that it imposes on the actor the responsibility of self-

care and conduct and produces this responsibility as a type of autonomy that successfully achieved, confirms (the fallacy of) freedom.

In the U.S., shortly after the Depression, economic and social policy emerged that was influenced by intellectual movements at the University of Chicago and the social becomes re-described as a *form* of the economic (Gordon 1991:42). "Economics thus becomes an 'approach' capable of addressing the totality of human behaviour…" (43). Gordon reminds us further that under American neoliberalism, classical positions on the subject - that is simply as a free thinking, free-choosing economic man – no longer remains outside the reach of government, but is transmuted; "*homo - economicus* is *manipulable man*" (43). The manipulation is achieved through direct measures that stimulate economies and by reconfiguration of the worker subjectivity. Hence the worker is no longer merely a labourer, under neoliberalism, workers are envisioned as producers and consumers - entrepreneurs of themselves (44).[18] Under neoliberalism, the maintenance of this enterprise, this human product as it were, is what comes to be known as "care of the self" and is central to his critique of governmentality (Foucault 1991; Gordon 1991; Dean 1991; Rose 1993). The implication of this for the Dignity homeless is that their poverty is a symbol of their failed conduct, and life on the streets is a sort of brutal punishment for millions of people who either chronically or periodically fall in and out of neoliberalism's expectations for conduct and personal government. The village, living in the village, is for the lucky few a certain sign that they are free and moving in a positive direction (away from the streets and shelters, towards home ownership and community). In fact, the sample of the mission statement at the beginning of this dissertation speaks in this tone of reintegration, community involvement and positive

contribution by the homeless villager as a testimony to the village's imaginary and potential capacity to fulfill this need of neoliberal governmentality. Governmentality, then, "the art of government," as Foucault called it, is a rationalized system for ordering the conduct of citizens. Below are the first five things a would-be villager needs to know. Each one of these rules is violated several times a day by different people, and are frequently used by powerful factions in the village to control the behaviour of villagers or to outcast others. *One must memorize these and sign the document* – after that you can pretty much abandon them as sees fit.

Fig. 15. The Five Rules of Dignity Village

To stay in Dignity, you must agree to and follow our five basic rules:

1. **No violence to yourselves or others**
2. **No theft**
3. **No alcohol, illegal drugs or drug paraphernalia on-site or within a one-block radius**
4. **No constant disruptive behavior**
5. **Everyone must contribute to the operation and maintenance of the Village. A minimum of**
   10 hours are required
   per week.

I understand that Dignity Village is incorporated as a membership-based non-profit organization. By signing this agreement, I become eligible for membership, according to the terms of the bylaws, and recommendation of the Tents and Population Standing Committee. In addition, due to the participatory culture of Dignity Village, I understand that it is sometimes necessary to convene meetings of the members or Village Councilors with less advance notice than required by ORS Chapter 65. Therefore, in signing this agreement, I agree to forego and forfeit all rights to advance notice of emergency meetings of the membership or Village Council, as provided by section 4.10.1 of Dignity Village bylaws. I have read the Dignity Admittance Agreement and agree with its terms and I agree to live by these terms and the rules of the village.

Signature: _ Date:

5.8 Governmentality

Above are the infamous 5 basic rules of Dignity village. Beyond being reasonable or practical, they are intended to make a statement to would-be villagers that their lives will be governed. Not one of these rules goes unbroken – residents there break

each rule at some point, and I am beginning to think that this rule breaking is a form of resistance to the village's own governmentality. In other words, the village and its political front - the leaders and council, must mediate city governance of the community by appearing to enforce the rules that bind the village to a neoliberal episteme of housing governance, of which the five rules are a small part. The leadership struggles to ensure that the village complies with the demands of the city. Within the community however, these rules and others, are an unevenly applied set of conditions that leadership and village members use to govern each other's conduct. Each of these rules in their own way is a discourse or contributes to an anti-discourse of street life. One enters the village then agreeing to terms that demand a mental shift towards conduct of conduct that is representative of broader conventional imaginings of how good citizens ought to be. So why are the rules broken so often? I look at governmentality in detail, and determine what gaps it leaves for misunderstanding places like the village.

In his chapter on governmentality in the important, *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (1991), Foucault offers:

In conclusion, I would like to say that on second thoughts the more exact title I would like to have given the course of lectures, which I have begun this year, is not the one I originally chose. 'Security, territory and population': what I would like to undertake is something, which I would term a history of 'governmentality'. By this word I mean three things:

1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form or power, which has as its target population, as it s principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.
2. The tendency, which over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may termed government, resulting on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of *savoirs*.

3. The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes 'governmentalized' (Foucault, 1991:103).

I have condensed governmentality as follows: The various techniques and systems of governing conduct that shape both individuals and society in places and over time, are what Foucault (1991) has called "governmental rationality" or governmentality. Under neoliberal governmentality, power is not just repressive or dominating, it is creative and unites subjects with knowledge produced by society for the very purpose of creating freely choosing subjects as a function of political economy (Dean 2010; Delanty 2011; Rose 1999). As Lemke (2000) suggests, for Foucault,

> *Domination* is a particular type of power relationship that is both stable and hierarchical, fixed and difficult to reverse. Foucault reserves the term "domination" to "what we ordinarily call power" (1988b, p. 19). Domination refers to those asymmetrical relationships of power in which the subordinated persons have little room for manoeuvre because their "margin of liberty is extremely limited" (1988b, p. 12). But states of domination are not the primary source for holding power or exploiting asymmetries, on the contrary they are the effects of technologies of government. Technologies of government account for the systematization, stabilization and regulation of power relationships that may lead to a state of domination (Lemke 2000:6).

The central questions in governmentality studies are "how" questions, how we govern our selves, how we are governed by others (Dean 1999, 2010). This approach differs from theories of the state, which are rationalist discourses and "may be characterized by: a state-centric position that anticipates the global environment as anarchical, political action is carried out by atomized independent actors; the bases for analysis is a positivist and clearly defined subject-object position where theory invests actors with predefined potentials, and the world with probable outcomes from certain types of actions; and actor's political agency is external to their social lives" (Che 2007:

3). Though governmentality did not become a central part of Foucault's work until later in his career, and then only briefly though his lectures (1991), this "art of government" is tied closely to his earlier analyses of power and the state.[19]

As techniques of governance, these sites and the power of the expert constitute a basic structure in the "conduct of conduct", or "governmentality" which Foucault has called the key problem of modern neoliberal government (Dean 1999). To flesh out this problem let me suggest as Dean (1991) and Foucault (1978) have, that under sovereignty the problem of government was relatively simple; a monarch had supreme power over life or death, and sovereign power worked though legitimate or illegitimate means, (by taking that life or through authority of the right to take that life). Poverty and charity were managed by local parishes, religious orders and until the advent of capital, the homeless were understood as somewhat divine in the sense that Christ was a peasant, charity was a virtue and poverty inhered the symbolic quality of piety (Bahr 1973; Wrightson and Levine 1995; Marx and Engels 1975). Marx characterizes the poor, prior to capital, as "those whose property consists of life, freedom, humanity and citizenship of the state, who own nothing except themselves" (Marx and Engels 1975:256). Sherover (1979) reminds us that according to Marx, the poor had the mystical ability to see beyond the materialist and vain attachment to gold and (in this case, an anecdote about wood thieves), wood (56). Marx said, "The poor are not deceived by an "abject materialism, "which "enthrones the immoral, irrational and soulless abstractions of a particular material object " (1975:262 in Sherover 1979:58). The poor therefore, in the West, continued to inhere this essential, incorruptible simplicity that deserved pity if not compassion, at least until their poverty became a device for capital, and a problem for governance (Marx and

Engels 1975; Marshall 1950; Dean 1991; Proacci; 1991).

Foucault reminds us that governmentality begins with the separation of the state from the direct service of the sovereign.[20] The state was very much concerned with proper management of populations and encouraging economic health. Thus the state for Foucault begins, "not in the negative and pejorative sense we give it today, but in a full positive sense. The state is governed according to rational principles which are intrinsic to it and which cannot be derived solely from natural or divine laws or the principles of wisdom…" (1978:212-13).

Foucault also cautions us not to overvalue the state as a totalizing system in current neoliberal governmentality. It is not that the state has taken over society as much as the state has become governmentalized by what he would call, "governmentalization of the state" (Dean 2010:36). Furthermore it is important to look at government not in terms of who has power and who does not, but more so in terms of how the definition of government is contested, constructed, assembled, and "transformed from multiple and heterogeneous elements" (2010:37). Hence understanding power requires us to look at how it operates through techniques, practices, procedures – rationalized systems - that produce observable effects. In this sense, one might argue that to see power one must look at how people are politically activated since, "power is exercised by virtue of things being known and people being seen" (Foucault 1980:154).

It is important that Foucault imagined *conduct*, as *government*, in very much the way it was used prior to the 20th century; not only in the common use, as an institutional or other system of managing a population, but also as the way one imagines and proceeds to manage their spiritual and physical well being, on their own. The government of one's

self, as a sense of order in one's moral, spiritual and daily life. Hence governmentality is from the outset a concept that incorporates conduct of the group with conduct of the self. In another sense, governmentality implies that the way one conducts one's personal being, also determines the group's well-being, and so one of the central problems of (neoliberal) governance, regardless of the level, is well-being; conduct should be directed towards the well-being of the self as also a means of achieving the well-being of the group.[21]

The ethical implications of "conduct" appear from the reflexive qualities of the word, *conduct*. Insomuch as conduct as a noun suggests a form of behaviour exercised within or compared to the behaviour of others, "to conduct oneself" means to gauge one's choices of behaviour in relation to others, as a conscious decision and is therefore ethical and moral (Dean 2010:17). Government is dependent, therefore, on the way people come to know about themselves and the world around them; on language and vocabularies, symbolic systems and signs, and on administrative and bureaucratic mechanisms, each of which contributes to specific knowledge about a governable subject. There are two sides to governmentality then; the first is a subject who is governed, and the second is a subject who governs him or herself.

In *Technologies of the Self* (Foucault 1988) knowledge created about a subject, and therefore, that can be held over it, creates power over the subject. Within this classification or understanding of one's own subjectivity then, is the key to freedom, a freedom gained through self-control (Foucault 1988:18-19). Clearly it stands that not all subjects will comply or meet all expectations of themselves or others all the time. There is no way to anticipate that the personal habits or conduct of populations will embody all that is ideally framed for them in rational policies or rules. It is out of this range of

possibility for human action towards or away from normalized practice that the state finds reason to exercise its power; it is also within this range that individuals can define for themselves the habits or actions they accept or reject and is, therefore, the source of their own freedom, their own power. It is perhaps why people in the village behave so inconsistently - as a means to *feel* powerful. Where Bourdieu (1967) had seen *habitus* as a system for restricting the action of actors within culturally reproduced values and goals, and thereby expected their power to be a socially and culturally restricted commodity, for Foucault, power is not total control by subjects, or by forces external to them, like the state. Power is relational and fluid; freedom is regulated not withheld (Dean 1999; Foucault 1977, 1988, 1991; Rose and Miller 1992).

Governmentality then, can be understood as a way of describing how subjects are empowered by the freedom they are accorded by regimes of truth, and the patterns of actions such rationalizations produce, within strategies of governance (Dean 2010:37; Foucault 1991:78-80) as revealed by for example the language inherent to laws and policies regarding housing. Once again, governmentality studies ask *how* questions: how did a certain subjectivity come to be understood that way, how did a certain social issue come to be understood as a problem – and later, for this dissertation, how do undeserving problems become deserving recipients of assistance? Of particular interest to my research is how homeless people in the village understand freedom and autonomy. If these are things that Ibrahim says we must work towards, then towards what, and against what impediments? Foucault said,

> On the other hand, I do not think that there is anything that is functionally by its very nature absolutely liberating. Liberty is a practice. So there may, in fact, always be a certain number of projects whose aim is to modify some constraints, to loosen, or even to break them, but none of these projects can, simply by its nature, assure that people will

have liberty automatically, that it will be established by the project itself. The liberty of men is never assured by the institutions and laws that are intended to guarantee them. This is why almost all of these laws and institutions are quite capable of being turned around. Not because they are ambiguous, but simply because "liberty" is what must be exercised" (1984:245).

I take this to mean that the ambiguity is in the underlying values; liberty, freedom, or autonomy. Hence in a space like the village, where the rules that delineate the proper accords by which to experience such values, rules, one might say, are poorly and irregularly interpreted and executed, ambiguity extends to how life is lived, and this is a condition of liminality. The liminal nature of life there is because there is but an imaginary structure to how such important values should be achieved, and therefore, no way to know how, in a practical sense, to work towards them, as Ibrahim, Foucault and others have stated.

5.9 Freedom and Autonomous Actors

Nikolas Rose (1999) analyses political power and the concept of freedom, primarily by re-evaluating Foucault's notion of "conduct of conduct" and mirroring closely Foucault's elucidation of the heteronomous and autonomous expression of subjectivities, in which there are ranges of action that are delimited by the world of others, by cultural principles or norms, in the former, or within personal frames of choice in the latter (Foucault 1982). Rose (1999) proposes that traditional normative evaluations of the state (the state is good or bad, governance is good or bad) are problematic themes, which more or less dominate the traditional literature (16). The values inherent to these judgments are based on appraisals of how governments or associated agencies are organized within a structure of power, control and influence. Governance has come to mean in this tradition of inquiry, and for the "advanced liberal democracy", the outcome

of all these interdependencies and linkages (17). In the West, the tendency to reconfigure the various domains to which the government must be addressed; the family the economy, the community, and its new ways of doing this, through associations, communities and private citizens is what Rose calls "advanced liberalism" (140). The goal for this governance, the preferred outcome from these linkages is a self-awareness of the subject-citizen as a free, yet responsible subject (of governance) (1999:68).

According to Rose (1999) governmentality separates out the tendency to dominate as an essentialized result of power and governance. "To govern humans is not to crush their capacity to act, but to acknowledge it and to utilize it for one's own objective" (Rose 1999:4).[22] This ability to govern, this rise of a governmentality of advanced liberalism, a term used often by Rose (Rose and Miller 1992; Rose 1993; Rose 1999) of which current neo-liberal regimes are to be considered a part, lends itself to a genealogical undertaking which more than explaining the history of the event or idea, in this case, wants to show the infusing of certain values such as deserving or undeserving into the concepts of autonomy and freedom in order to clarify their current meaning.

Rose says, "Freedom is an artifact of government, but it is not thereby an illusion" (63). One point of query is that while he asks when governance is good and when is it bad, he generally assumes that freedom is always good and not accidental (16). I have to argue later that much of the crisis of community at Dignity Village results from too much freedom, or at least believing they are free *too much*. However, Rose shows that freedom, like notions of merit, deserving or undeserving, rather than being some accidental by-products of the evolution of human civilization, are historically things which were *considered,* and discussed and that the "strategies" of liberal market economies and social

planning have been crafted and pitched on the very basis of a consciousness about the essentialness of including, (not defining), values of freedom and merit, though the measure of this freedom, and the means to earn it vary across time and place (67). Hence, a genealogical undertaking of current social relations that hinge on these valuations is likely to reveal the patterns of power and regimes of knowledge that any emancipatory or critical action needs to understand and is therefore an aspect of pragmatic and deconstructive consideration.

Restoring the poor to a place in the economy by providing conditions by which the poor can prove their worthiness of charity through casual labour denote a peculiar sense of freedom and salvation grounded in the religious ferment of the 19th century. From Hobbes, Locke and Smith, and later in Hayek, von Rustow and under current neoliberal planning[23], freedom of the subject to engage unhindered in the social and economic avenues of her life receive major consideration, since governing over a free citizen, "validates liberal systems against the tyranny of despots of and dictators" (Rose 1999). However, freedom, is a capricious, not transcendental value, and the limits to it, the routes to experiencing it, are differently composed across time and place, which means values of who is deserving of freedom must also shift.[24]

Place is important in this sense, since freedom, as an object of pragmatic investigation has come to define the space "within which contemporary rationalities of government compete" (1999: 94). If freedom and power are not solely to be found in or to result from the venue of government, if they can reside outside of this space, perhaps in many spaces, then to define power and freedom requires a retooling of the investigation of what and where the strategic practices, devices and relations of agency

take place. “In short, one must abandon the political calculus of domination and liberation… because power also acts through practices that “make up subjects as free persons” (95). Rose’s description of “practices” of government echoes Michel de Certeau’s (1984) *strategy*; Rose says, “practices of government are deliberate attempts to shape (human) conduct in relation to certain objectives…” (4). In this way practices act as any strategy would in de Certeau’s framework. Where de Certeau had implied that the human (“end-user”- my words) consumer was victimized and potentially dominated by strategies, and more or less needed to appropriate only what was useful to him to avoid total domination, Rose is arguing that domination and governing are not the same thing. Where all strategies in de Certeau imply a certain attempt by an institution or “group” to serve its own interests by co-opting the agency of “user-consumers” (my words), thereby combining governance and domination in a single category of a strategy of potential usury. Rose does not do this.

Rose points out that Foucault saw freedom as a way of practicing *upon oneself*, rather than as a state or a quality outside of the agent (95). Hence while notions of deserving and undeserving tend to set out the limits of material and spiritual well-being that are said to define such conditions for the public, they are more important in how the individual understands those as qualities of the self. And Rose in the end, reminds us that as humans we have at least evolved to the point where we constantly exercise free choice and make decisions about our selves, and that freedom, within normative systems like government, is that which allows those caught up in the stratagems which define the practice in question, to “accept or transform the practices that subjectify them” in the sense that they understand themselves to be deserving of such amendment (97).

Transformation, transition, choice, action and acts are a function of the actor's criticality, and are fundamentally rooted in the belief that one is or ought to be free to do so. Rose's contribution here then, is to point a study of governmentality to look at freedom as more than a coefficient of politics or law, but as a result of diverse and myriad relationships that crisscross the totality of lived experience for a subject and thereby provide opportunities to exercise choice and to make autonomous decisions in political and other areas of life, beyond the political. Freedom is ultimately manifest in attempts to alter one's present and in the case of the Dignity homeless, to do so because one sees one's self as deserving of a way out of the liminal ambiguity of poverty. On the ground, this is rarely the case. Poverty can become a new self-regulatory reality, a conduct of conduct constructed by history for the poorest, and to be exercised in spaces especially set aside for them. Freedom can be interpreted within the mundane and petty critical actions a villager takes towards another, without ever being framed in terms of values that transcend the self's desires and enter the political or socially critical.

Rose's genealogy of freedom shows that these spaces evolved commensurately with the evolution of the citizen-subject since the mid 19th century. The subject therefore was reinterpreted and the everyday reshaped by policies which sought to ensure that the individual was to adopt a "new relation to his or herself in the every day world, in which the self itself is to be an object of knowledge and autonomy is to be achieved though a continued enterprise of self-improvement though the application of a rational knowledge and technique (93). As Bevir points out, this idea of autonomy is very different than autonomous actor capable of acting outside of socially constructed limits of freedom – or outside of "social contexts" (1999:67).[25] Ultimately then for Rose, it is the norm of

autonomy though a process of "intense self-scrutiny" which binds us in our pursuit of ourselves, to our search for self-realization and hence to pedagogies of expertise (93). In pursuit of this pure subjectivity we are governed as much as if by objectification as by our pursuit of ourselves. This drive to do so, this initiative that springs forth and defines our rationality for every day life, is merely a result of the fact that "regimes of power establish, deploy and promote and intensify the truths of our selves (95). Freedom is not a dead thing. It is not a concept. Freedom,

> "… as a set of practices, devices, relations of self to self and self to others, of freedom as always practical, technical, contested, involving relations of subordination and privilege, opens freedom to historical analysis and historical criticism. …The fact that freedom is technical, infused with relations of power, entails specific modes of subjectification and is necessarily a thing of this world, inescapably sullied by the marks of the mundane, does not make freedom a sham or liberty an illusion; rather it opens up the possibility of freedom neither as a state of being nor a constitutional form but as a politics of life (94).

Rose argues that in the last 40 years, freedom has been elevated from a mere "notion" to a central current in political thought, " … the ethics of freedom have come to underpin our conception of how we should be ruled, how our practices of everyday life should be organized, how we should understand ourselves in our predicament" (61). Rose is not blind to the violence perpetrated in the name of freedom, yet he would argue that despite this, there is in general a belief that "human beings are in their nature, actually, potentially, ideally, subjects of freedom and hence they must be governed, and must govern themselves, as such" (62).

For Dean (1999), actions by the poor for more housing programs, or for legal permits to land on which to build a camp, might be conceptualized as claims for more participation within government programs as a type of freedom (for shelter) rather than freedom from governmental controls. This more or less summarizes the two poles of the

critical debates in Dignity Village that I mentioned in the introduction. The implication of this state of "compliance" is that despite the fact that others may see our collective action (our mentality) in different or contradictory terms, the process of governing ourselves with respect to others about what we believe to be ideal, tends to be self-reproducing, a teleological "reflexivity" which gives rise to different ways of producing truth (1999:18). The use of the space might be unusual, but the moral essence of the claim, and the desire to be "legal" represent a commitment to governmentality. There is in a sense, autonomy of the ethical from the political, mirrored in the distinction between "practices of the self," and "practices of the government" (21). Foucault (1991) largely rejects the notion of fully sovereign subject that ideal notions of autonomy might suggest, for this would suggest a case where individuals could determine their actions in isolation from or free of the influence of other agents and this would make the social construction of anything, quite impossible (Bevir 1999:67). Freedom in this sense, and autonomy are an agent's ability to make choices within the limits a given social context has constructed for them.

In this sense, Bevir argues that the two Foucaults, the *excitable* and the *composed*, use hostility towards the subject as an indictment of agency and as an endorsement, thus confounding what is already a difficult contemplation: the apposition to structure and agency. On the one hand, it seems reasonable that no subject stands outside of the social context, and on the other, rejecting autonomy does not necessarily spell a rejection of agency. "Different people adopt different beliefs and perform different actions against the background of the same social structure, so there must be at least an undecided space in front of these structures where individuals decide what beliefs to hold and what actions to

perform" (Bevir 1999:68). In this ambiguous, unformed space we will locate the ideas of homeless people and try to discern the critical capacity of their community.

Once again, take John Boy as an example. I asked him about how he we would describe his transition into the village. He was quick to explain (my words) that the village had quickly colonized him, and that this was very different than the streets where in fact, that is in the hard facts of trying to survive, that sort of freedom is scary, and "your mind gets filled with all kinds of stuff that just doesn't work for a person," (I understand these to be paranoia, fear, selfishness, physical pain, discomfort and others which comprise what Dave Samson another villager calls "street survival anxieties"). From video (DS DISC 3 at 00:56:00):

John Boy crosses his arms and looks me straight in the eye. He is absolutely sure that what follows is true: " I tell everybody when they get here – when they get here they're like this is so great, this is so great. I tell them, 'there will be a time that comes when you will regret and dread going out of those gates."
"And do you feel that way?" I ask.
"Ah, not anymore. But I did for along time…" A pause.
I want to suggest that the village colonized all that damaged mental space. I suggest, "Because this became…" He nods to me, and with his hands creates a closed circle implying wholeness.
"This became everything, and that's the way the psychological part of it works," he adds.
"And so do you think in that process of it becoming – everything – you become more whole yourself, and then you can go out again?"
"Yeah, yeah motioning with his hands, looks like he is crafting some clay piece), it definitely fixes the way you think."

John Boy's belief that he was being fixed by the village is suggestive of the same self-help ethos that neoliberal governing requires of its citizens in other city contracted spaces; to conform and to abide, and this is a matter of governmentality (Fairbanks Jr. 2004; Weissman 2012). So there is reason to explore the limits of this concept. However, the argument that had him evicted only a year later, his assault of another villager, was

based on a drug deal gone bad, and what he later admitted was a "personal desire to get vengeance. To set things right in the village." Several villagers shared his disdain for the other villager, but none would have resorted to violence despite having wanted to. It is not the case that there is an "average villager" nor that self-governing is done very well by all citizens of the village, so governmentality has limits. In this sense, even disciplinary power, a key to Foucault's work, had no impact on John Boy' actions. He had told me in a recent interview, that it was hard not to think "street," even in the camp, because "getting fixed up in the head takes time." Furthermore, because the village fails, in the imaginary of capital and other regimes of power, to produce a fully self-governed citizen out of homelessness, it fails as a transitional housing community. An example of this is that approximately 85% of persons who leave the village reenter homelessness immediately, and that during my fieldwork, no one transitioned into conventional jobs, school or housing, and these are some basic conditions of general transitional housing program (PHB 2009; Notes 2011). The critique of this failure is only sensible from a Foucauldian perspective if one critiques how the villager is governed or governs others.

There is no real mechanism in his work for understanding this failure from the experience of the villager, except as a reflection of their poor governance, when in fact, the governing episteme of the village, the rules, leaders and other variables that impact the villager's self-conduct by creating skewed knowledge about their self, are incomplete, in the process—and so once again, we have a failure to understand actors who are defined by this perpetually transitional experience, caught between conducts, as it were. Faced with such criticism of its organizational and managerial capacity since its inception, the village has evolved a sort of world, to invoke Boltanski and Thévenot (2006). And

discussed at the end of this chapter, where entirely new and diverse scripts about community and human rights are created to rationalize what happens there, or perhaps, what should, but do not. This is a pragmatic issue.

Brad Gibson, prior to becoming the CEO in 2011, and I had a conversation.

People just aren't getting a lot of things done. When this place started… when, I mean, this was supposed to be an activist organization. And help other people out of the doorways," he whispered. "And nobody... I mean once in a while you see one or two people go out [of the village]." Then, stone-faced: "There's 60 people here… it needs to get involved in its roots. Ya gotta get a spark, you know. Ya gotta understand why this place was here."

"Lot of people aren't getting that," I replied.

Brad was adamant, "A lot of people are not getting that. They're here for the 20-dollar stay over fee, you know. Twenty bucks is the insurance, you know, it's pretty cheap to live, and they're not bringing it [the message] back to the other organizations, they're not bringing it back to people who are still in the doorways."

I asked him about Dignity Village being a transitional place. He was absolutely clear, slapping the rail so hard that his, by then, empty coffee container fell off. "Well, it could be."

"How so?"

"Well, if people would get out and activate, they would get into networking that would lead them into different situations! See? That's where it was all supposed to be. Working with other organizations. Now, transportation is a big part of it. A monthly pass… Where's anybody from here going to get 82 bucks a month for the bus?
(*Dignity in Exile* 2012: 82).

Fig. 16. Brad Powell, John Boy Hawkes. June 2010. In the next six months Brad would become addicted to Meth, and ousted from office. John Boy similarly addicted took over office. A year after that he was ousted from the village for violence and drug use.(E. Weissman).

5.10 Critique, Resistance and Power

In ways, Foucault's governmentality project is about the limits self-governing imposes on actors, and therefore it is also equally about the conditions that make struggle and resistance possible for actors. For Foucault all these struggles revolve around the question, " Who are we? …To sum up, the main objective of these struggles is to attack not so much "such and such" an institution of power, or group, or elite, or class, but rather a technique, a form of power" (1982:82). While it is important to understand the previous transformations of knowledge and power within historical circumstances that

shape governance, it is also important to understand how actors come to understand themselves as beings, as subjects within a system that asserts its rationales upon them, and as subjects with power to comply or resist. It is the subject that exemplifies power, not the other way around. This understanding is summed up thusly by Foucault:

> "This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word "subject": subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power that subjugates and makes subject to" (ibid).

What Foucault has instructed us to do in a way is to look at how the present state of power relations unites groups of individuals with the state through regimes of practice such as court or health care systems, and then to ideas about themselves that are linked in various ways through techniques that produce identities, or "subjectivities" - identities that are at once caught up in the power of others, and in their own sense of it too. The procedures for gathering, formulating and disseminating knowledge therefore must be understood in order to understand how subjects understand themselves. Hence scientific discourses, juridical proclamations and political dogmas are examples of commonly accepted types of knowledge that critique must challenge.

It might be further argued from Foucault, that knowledge creates a mental or analytic space in the realm of rationalities, but also in the body of the subject herself. Knowledge imbricates with the potential for action, compliance, and rejection of rules, codes or other persons, by undergirding this analytic space and underpinning such possibilities for power. In the case of this dissertation, this suggests understanding how homelessness has been problematized by dominant political and economic rationalities;

but further and this is where much of the literature is weakest, in how the homeless come to problematize themselves as relatively empowered and deserving identities, as " subject to someone else by control or dependence and tied to his own identity by self-conscience or self-knowledge" (ibid). Wrapped up in this is the crucial separation of power from domination. Power is not destructive or restrictive. Power creates objects out of its desire to know. But it does not wish to subdue. Ideally, power is about understanding what freedom requires and approaching that ideal by constructing social, political and moral practices around that knowledge. Foucault tells us:

> When one defines the exercise of power as a mode of action upon the actions of others, when one characterizes these actions by the government of men by other men – in the broadest sense of the term—one includes an important element: freedom. Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments, may be realized. Where the determining factors saturate the whole there is no relationship of power; slavery is not a power relationship when man is in chains (790).

Foucault cautions against notions of essential freedom and essential power. "Power exists only when it is put into action…but it is not by nature the manifestation of consensus." (788). Power, unlike oppression through force, unlike domination though violent means, works indirectly on subjects by creating possibilities, ranges of possible action that fall within its desires, and thereby suggest a certain freedom on the part of those engaged within a relation of power (789). For Foucault, it appears, that freedom is better described as the perpetual antagonism between the will of the subject, and the forces that would hem it in or steer it in a given direction. Freedom, therefore, is a value that exists within, rather than externally to relationships between people, as subjects and "governments" charged with conducting their own affairs and well being, and between people as subjects to powerful regimes of knowledge through regimes of practice and

governance, like the housing programs or the policies of a state. Freedom is not an absolute value that exists outside of this relational probability (786). Hence in Foucault's genealogical history of the present, understanding a governmentality of poverty requires social critique to discern the probability of freedom within the historical conditions of possibility in which the subjects being examined are placed.

In a much later published series of talks from the year before his death, *The Politics of Truth* (2007), Foucault confronts what critique might ideally mean. He considers critique in much the way Kant did, as "virtue" directed towards truth, in the sense that being critical is something reasonable actors are, by their nature, and also that there is conjoined with the essence of this "critical attitude" a certain virtuousness (2007:42-43). In this frame, there is no need for an ultimate or transcendental external position like there is in classical critical theory, nor a reaction to objective or forces of structure like habitus - critique is a simple critical attitude that people have by virtue of being reasonable creatures. Larsen suggests that highlighting the plasticity of critique and power in this way helps to establish "who the real critics of today are" (2011:43). I have already in some detail explained how Foucault excavates the truth as first, a dogmatic religiously inscribed knowledge, second, the inscription of types of individuals based on population management strategies, and finally, various scientific, educational and methodological examinations of individuals within governing strategies of neoliberal rationalities that I argue are more or less employed in some fashion within the village. With the self-regulated and fully critical citizen now firmly constructed under the "art of government," the critical moment is asking "how not to be governed" (44), or more

precisely, as he corrects this statement later in the discussion, how not to be governed in *that way* or as "the art of not being governed quite so much"(45).

This first position stems from the aforementioned three stages, which he calls anchoring points. The first is a question of reexamining what Scripture means, and thereby questioning the authority of religious leaders and orders. Critique in this sense originates in a sort of discourse analysis of the scriptures in order to discern what has been written by men into the underlying laws of God as a means to achieve their political goals; one might look towards the language of civil laws that encode moral imperatives based in religious mentality. The second is the desire "not to want to be governed" which is akin to rejecting certain laws because they might be antiquated or unjust. Foucault suggests these rejections are rooted in perceptions of natural law. In this position, which sees its thrust amplified after the renaissance, the question is to the limits of the law, and critique is essentially a legal issue (46). Finally, there is the attitude of "to no to want to be governed" but accepting governance only insomuch as one believes in a valid authority. The root of critique here is the question "of certainty in its confrontation with authority" (46-47).

"One can see how the interplay of governmentalization and critique has brought about phenomena which are, I believe, of capital importance in the history of Western culture…However above all else, one sees that the core of critique is basically made of the bundle of relationships that are tied to one another, or one to the two others, power, truth and the subject. And if governmentalization is indeed this movement through which individuals are subjugated in the reality of a social practice through mechanisms of power that adhere to a truth, well then! I will say that critique is the movement by which the subject gives himself the right to question truth on its effect of power and question power on its discourses of truth. Well!:critique will be the art of voluntary subordination, that of reflected intractability" Critique would essentially insure the desubjugation of the subject in the context of what we would call, in a word, the politics of truth (47).

In a way then, Foucault offers a very similar proposition to Boltanski's (2011:155) treatment of institutions and critique that also corresponds to the two levels of emancipatory critique to which I have referred. The critical attitude is not an outright rejection of being governed; it is "both partner and adversary to the arts of governing" (Foucault 2007: 44). Boltanski might say that critique parallels institutions, or in this case regimes of power keeping them in line, constantly engaged in a feedback of responses and across ideological and actual spaces of resistance and compliance. One might ask to what degree a claim on space represents an expression of freedom or an act of resistance, if it is imbricated with the normal functions and expression of government as a form of critique. This is a key question in my work. Is it the case that Dignity activists agreed to be governed that way because self-government was envisioned as a desirable outcome of housing critique? Or was it that the city (as a regime of power) created the terms by which the villagers *had to* choose. This is different, in the sense the former suggests the city power was displaced by the village power, and in the latter, the city adapted the village claim into its own rational system, which we will examine in the next chapter.

Boltanski and Chiapello's position in *The New Spirit…* was that since 1968, a form of managerial domination of the capitalist world took place where instead of resisting opposition outright, capitalist institutions began incorporating various social critique into their organizational and managerial culture. This suggests that the actors and activists who produce powerful critiques are absorbed into more adept institutions that thereby extinguish their effective capacity, producing a type of domination. I am sure that the homeless who push for more communities or housing, would wish such an usurpation would always take place. We get into this in a moment. First: if the goal of

critique is to produce an action that leads to redress of the second goal of emancipation - for more of the pie - then such absorption is a "win" and the action is to be understood in terms of power, not domination, and not as an act in the sense Isin and Nielsen have described earlier. Such was the case where Camp Dignity forced the city to encapsulate it – to literally incorporate it – and hence, we have Dignity Village, a community perched on the very constitution and democratic system that created their inequality in the first place. This asks one to examine at what level their emancipatory goal was towards domination, or towards a sense of freedom, despite the apparent contradictory logic this inquiry presents. In either case, the incorporation does not happen without the critical action that is produced by the critique, that is without the establishment of a fixed or mobile, symbolic, material or human, physical site of resistance. We explore such sites in chapters 5 and 6.

According to Foucault (2007) such resistance to be governed in certain way can result in "counter-conducts" that reflect the choice of actors, groups of actors in the pursuit of alternative ways to achieve the same ends, through new leaders, new political alliances, new rationales and strategies, vis a vis political, economic and social areas of living. Hence these are to be distinguished from revolts against state sovereignty or economic exploitation however much they are at work in them" (Dean 2010:21). Freemasons, anti-war protests are offered as examples. Camp Dignity, fixed under the bridge, and the mobile shopping cart marches, contributed to the power of the movement by creating broad public support. These were mobile an fixed sites of counter-conduct and resistance. However, the physicality of the resistance is less integral than the actors who make it work. The point for understanding Foucauldian resistance is to isolate the

locus of freedom in the actor who gives the movement force by engaging in the empowering relations of resistance. For it is in the ethical directions that one takes that freedom is found and power is exercised. Spaces of resistance to Foucault are not limited to the explicitly spatial, such as a place. We must remember that for Foucault space is mental, social, and physical and so resistance exists in language, discourses, actions, and emplaced experience (Elden and Crampton 2007). And so too does governmental tendencies to control these spaces. Leaving linguistic heterotopias and temporary protests aside for the moment, where resistance digs in its heels as a demand for actual space, like the Dignity claim, one has reason to investigate how the state responds to the spatialization of the claim. As a power struggle in which a critical position is trying to displace another, the fight is not just over land but also over power, and governments do not give this up easily. Resistance from political subjects to laws governing uses of land for example, generally lead to a forceful response by the state, and this we understand as a conflict, as an attempt at domination by the state over the subject. In the "mind" of the state, it is very likely they feel the corollary might be true. In this spatial conflict, where critique is successful at displacing some leeway for a village let us say, there will always be some kind of resolution that the state can live with.

In the rationalization of such claims, we often find that such contests first attend to the regulation of the spatial coordinates of living and then by extension into the way life is performed (Lefebvre 1968; Castells 1983; Soja 1996; Barker 1999; Davis 2000, 2006; Bayat 2010). Recall, and this is important, that Foucault understands governmentality as a triad - sovereignty, discipline and government. Spatial claims that pit power against power lead to conflict, repression and, it is in such times that the full

weight of the imagined sovereignty of governance, through *discipline* over counter conduct (or resistance) is exposed. Though we understand that societies defined by Discipline have been usurped by neoliberal government, disciplinary capacity remains as a part of the triangle of power. Foucault said,

> It must also master all the forces that are formed from the very constitution of an organized multiplicity; it must neutralize the effects of counter power that spring from them and which form a resistance to the power that wishes to dominate it: agitations, revolts, spontaneous organizations, coalitions-anything that may establish horizontal conjunctions. Hence the fact that the disciplines use procedures of partitioning and verticality; that they introduce, between the different elements at the same level, as solid separations as possible; that they define compact hierarchical networks; in short, that they oppose to the intrinsic, adverse force of multiplicity the technique of the continuous, individualizing pyramid . They must also increase the particular utility of each element of the multiplicity, but by means that are the most rapid and the least costly, that is to say, by using the multiplicity itself as an instrument of this growth (1984:207).

Where the tactical displacement of power through critical action leads to a compromise like the village, there is no violent repression, or cause for discipline, but when we look at how the rationalization of the village in codes and other documents, we will see that the language of discipline underscores everything. So space matters to governmentality studies, and to how governors govern; it therefore has much to do with how we choose to be governed in a certain way. The contest over principles or over regimes of power cannot be understood without undertaking an appreciation of the space of resistance. It only makes sense for the state to neutralize the effectiveness of a space of resistance - liminality makes sense in some ways. I will give the ideas of spaces of resistance much more attention in chapter seven. In the next section of this chapter we will discuss Boltanski's worlds and justifications as another way of understanding the space of resistance, and the limits of critical action in what I call liminal worlds. Together these concepts help PEOC understand liminal spaces of critique in terms of critical

capacity. First, the events in John Boys life again underscore the complicated relationship between freedom and poverty. After being kicked out, he had nowhere to live but his van. This is not an unusual case; there are no statistics, but it is well known on the street and in foodbanks that tens of thousands of Americans are living in their cars. This descriptive passage from my monograph, visualizes the experience of democratic denial, which is my way of saying that democracy *is broken*.

Dignity in Exile (2012:52-56)

I had been wondering about Jon Boy. I had heard rumors that he had come by and asked about me one day while I was out. But I hadn't seen him. Dave told me he wasn't looking good. "But you know Jon Boy. Jon Boy's Jon Boy!"

"There he is now," Dave said.

The sun was bright that morning. I could see into the open back of the van through the windshield. The first things I saw were his American flags draped over the rear windows and a small flag rigged to his broken antenna.

Jon Boy threw open a rusty, squeaky driver's side door. It lurched on the hinge as if it wanted to fall off. Jon Boy swaggered out of the van and made his way towards me. By then, villagers – Dean, Rocky and a couple of others – had showed up at the berm to have their coffees and smokes and to greet Jon Boy. He looked pretty much the same. His hair was ragged and his front teeth broken. He sported his trademark leather vest and he looked like he hadn't been sleeping much. His skin was sallow and his eyes were dark-rimmed like most of the meth addicts I knew. His scabs and skin blemishes, though, were much more widely spread, and it was clear that he hadn't been doing well.

So, I asked him, "How are you?" as he reached for a hug. A hug. I have to tell you that as much as I liked the man, the soul that was Jon Boy, his body in its state of decay at that time worried me. I didn't want to touch him, but resisting the embrace of a friend would have been disastrous, not only to my working with him, but with the others. So, we hugged it out man-style. And he answered me. "Well, you know, I'm doing great, great! You know, I'm very sorry about the mix-up and all, but well. You know it ain't easy sometimes and I was wrong..." – he had the beginning of tears in his eyes, but he cleared his throat and continued – "…but I hope you are getting on okay. I heard you was coming soon."

A little while later, I drove Jon Boy in my rental car, a Ford Fusion I had exchanged for the Subaru, so I could buy him some gas. We talked about the incident while I drove. The camera was mounted on my dash. He did hit the guy. He did think that TC was a deadbeat and a rat, and he would, if the situation presented itself again, do it over. "I miss the village, but I don't need it anymore," he said. "I have to make some moves, and it was time. It wasn't right me being a leader, the Chair, and all that, and hitting a person, but there was two of us and he wasn't any angel, and he should be out too! That's what's gonna kill this place, anyway, all those little drug gangs and stuff. There's no balance.

There was a fight. How can one person only be accused, be responsible for a fight? Violence of any kind is not tolerated! Fact is they wanted me out, so they could get their own people in council and I fucking blew it. Fuck them. Fuck this. And it's too bad because this place, the village, is really important." As I slowed to turn into the gas station, he looked at me and said, "I just hope I didn't fuck up your faith in the place."

Why would he worry about my opinion? I had enjoyed meeting him the year before and interviewing him, but who was I? For the first time since I'd got there, I realized that the villagers had distinct expectations from me. I pulled up in the queue to the pump. "Well, you're here," he said, "and the first thing you find out is I ain't here no more. And no one told you until you get here. That chokes me up. That ain't right. And it is really my fault for fucking up in the first place, I guess." I tried to calm him. I told him it was all okay. "Everything happens for a reason" and other common phrases. "It all makes sense ten years later."

After a moment of silence, I told him what was really bothering me. "I just look at you and it worries me. You can't tell me you aren't doing meth." He said nothing for a moment. It was hot, sitting in the queue for the pump, and the smell of gasoline overtook us in the van as the guy on his motorcycle in front of the line overfilled his tank. Jon Boy took it in with a deep haul and laughed. I get that, I get that he liked the smell. (It is interesting how many of us addicts, in recovery or not, enjoy that biting, gaseous aroma. And skunk too.) "To tell ya the truth…" he said, "…I prefer smack, but I don't do much of anything these days." The motorcyclist pulled away and I pulled up to the pump. I put the car in park. He asked, "Can you spot me ten bucks for gas?" Jon Boy filled up the small gas tank he had brought and I also bought a couple of sodas and ice cream bars for us.

On the drive back, we didn't say much. He asked me how long I was staying and he suggested we get out and see Portland together. It was a real shame to see Jon Boy like that. Even though he had been using substances when he'd lived at the village and when we had first met, at least he had been maintaining his structure. He had some order in his life, and was getting involved..

We drove past a stretch of riverside mansions, and one of the most exclusive golf courses in Portland. The villagers used to collect stray golf balls and sell them, but the golf course management had put an end to that when villagers started lingering around the course too often. With the car windows open, I could hear racing car engines off in the distance. He told me that they were coming from a track where he and some of the other villagers worked once a week, doing security and other odd jobs for cash. He didn't seem jumpy or edgy, he was smiling, and I wanted to believe that this was the real image of Jon Boy, driving down the open road in the sun, with the wind blowing in the window, arm crooked on the door, enjoying a haul off his cigarette. Was it possible, I asked myself, to be content with this lifestyle? So I had to ask him, based on the video shot back in 2010. "Jon Boy. Last year you said, and these are pretty close to your words, you said, 'This is America and I can be anyone I want to be.'"

"Yeah, I remember that, in my structure. I 'd like to see that sometime."

I made the right turn onto Sunderland Ave, and I asked him if he didn't mind that I stop for a moment. We pulled over about 150 yards from the berm. A beat-up camper van we had not seen before was parked there. A young Afro-American man was cleaning stuff out of the back of the van.

"He'll learn pretty quick," Jon Boy said.

"What do you mean? Do you think the cops will roust him?" I asked.

Jon Boy looked at me like I was the greatest fool he had ever met. He propped his chin up and cocked his head back. "The cops? Not the cops. Eric. How many black guys have you seen in there?" he asked, pointing directly at the village.

"Well, I…" I stumbled. I hadn't seen any, but the village did have a few native folks and a couple of gay people so I … "What are you saying, the village is discriminating?" I asked.

"Naw, I ain't saying nothing. Nobody knows what to do in there…"

We watched the young man as he tried to unload a big box of old clothing. A cat leapt out of the van and he hustled after it, trapping it in the thick hedge next to the moving company yard. He picked up the cat and kissed it. Then scolded it. Returning to the van, he opened the side door and we could make out a couple of other cats.

Jon Boy smirked at the man. "Well, he might get in. He's perfect for that place. Ya never know. They're supposed to let anyone who needs it get in if there is room." Jon Boy kept his eyes on the man. I had to get out of the car. The aroma inside was beginning to sour from the gas, from his clothes. The sun was heating it up.

I asked, "Well, can you?"

He turned to me. "Can I what? I forget what we were talking about."

I tethered the conversation. "You still feel that way, you are free to do anything you—?"

He turned away from the man, who was, by then, fiddling with his headlight. He looked me deeply in the eyes. "This is America, Eric, and anyone can be anything they wanna be. I am doing what I want to do, for right now. I'm free."

Fig. 17. John Boy in his van. July 2011. (N. Dickson).

If this was freedom, I wanted nothing to do with it. This world, this poor, addicted and temporary world made life so contingent that big pictures were invisible to the critical attitudes of the villager. Beyond the fact that he had become addicted, over many years of street life and time in jail, John Boy was still caught in a sense of freedom that he very obviously associated with being American. It was the same sense of patriotic identity that the villagers identified with when they toasted him on the banks of the Columbia – "America the Beautiful…" The most amazing irony for me was how clever neoliberalism was in producing extremely harsh conditions for urban living - high medical costs and enormous rents, few social subsidies for low income folks, and rapidly increasing unemployment; and this despite the fact that the fastest growing number of homeless in cities were poor persons who had as many as two or three low paying jobs and still could not afford rent. John Boy's story includes a lot of mistakes he made, but to see him in that van, decorated with stars and stripes seemed to me to be a desperate attempt to convince himself that he was the broken one, not the system, and this to me again, was indicative of a certain evil governmentality. It was domination of the mind, and after that what good is autonomy anyway?

5.11 Summary of Foucault

As Delanty (2011:81) points out, Foucault's critique is not oriented towards criteria of truthfulness, in the sense that normative diagnostic positions try to impose a vision of truth onto the potential of political subjects. For Foucault there is no such thing really as false knowledge, since all knowledge is constructed at some level and mediated by power over time to the point where it comes to be understood by subjects. However,

this appreciation for how power and critique push and bend each other over time to shape current understanding *is* his mode of "social" critique. He argued that the relationship between power, which we recall as understood to be *relations* of power, and these systems of knowledge or discourses, as "tactically polyvalent (1976:132) Earlier I discussed how Larsen explains this as the result of their heterogeneous and irregular nature over time; hence the need to examine critique *through* time. So we can understand that subjects come to be thought of in certain ways by the push and pull if you will of power(s) with points of view. Foucault's "counter-conduct" (2004:199), as a discursive or physical resistance to power can therefore become a new form of conduct, which presents a new discourse into the world. The subject then is always understood from some other position and so we are always using this positionality to understand the potential for freedom or domination (in my work, anyway) on the basis of how this other position uses its power to particular ends, in this case, governance. Clearly this ties Foucault with the three other approaches in the sense that institutions, ideologies or "generative" structures create positions by which the subject comes to be aware of herself. Foucault's understanding of discourse is unique in that it locates the target of discourse in the creation of the subject herself, whereas, the prior approaches look at discourse and language as a ways by the which the world comes to be organized and the subject lost to this dominating force. Moving beyond language and speech acts, Foucault has looked at how institutions and relations are produced by discourses rather than intelligible points of debate, or matters to be argued. Discourse is empowered by Foucault to create the categories by which subjects are governed, and by which they govern themselves, which includes as I mentioned, a certain critical attitude. This gives the subject power too. So

the subject can be critical and as a result of her power can exercise social critique in a number of ways, which he considers resistance. I mentioned in this section, that mundane inter-personal critique takes on importance in the village as exactly an expression of freedom and resistance. Unfortunately, in terms of emancipating the village from city control, it is misdirected critique.

In so much as disciplinary power, sovereignty and government operate on neoliberal subjectivities at the same time, the main weakness of governmentality, which I mentioned much earlier, is that it lacks the capacity to explain "acts" that might be unique or novel, or in many cases, especially regarding the homeless, considered homeless, or that transcend the capacity of disciplinary power (Delanty 2011:83). Beyond this, there really is no room, or any need for mobilizing large numbers of persons in socially transformative capacities because resistance is not futile, but resistance is power, and therefore anticipated in the current episteme as a matter of governance.

5.12 Pragmatic Sociology of Critique

Another critical perspective that links critique and power is pragmatic sociology of critique. A work by Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello, called *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (2005), is noteworthy for how it links various critiques of capitalism over the last 100 years to shifts in how capitalism organized itself and managed its concerns, in response to critique. A matter of critique displacing power one might say, though in a different way, in that instead of a new conduct becoming conduct, the critique is incorporated in various ways into the managerial capacity of institutions. New forms of capitalism emerge as expressions of critique. Very interesting at some levels, and a

bridge of sorts to Foucault, but not the reason I am interested in it here. In early work, Boltanski and Thévenot ([1991] 2006) and then more recently Boltanski (2011) investigate the pragmatic understanding and experience of normative orders called "cities" that produce repertoires of justifications that actors use to critically navigate the world. I explore this in detail now, because I think there is utility for understanding the village better by looking at how these justifications and *worlds* (which is a word often used to describe the cities) link up with Foucault's empowered subject as essentially critical actors.

In this perspective, social life, and society are about interruptions, conflicts, claims and change, not stable order. Pragmatic sociology popularized by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) is sometimes referred to as the "sociology of critical capacity (Blokker and Brighenti 2011:1) or a pragmatic sociology of critique (Boltanski 2011). As a means to reunite social analysis with the moral political disposition that years of post-structuralism had all but stripped away, Boltanski has said, "Moral sociology should be understood as an attempt to reinsert, in the analysis of the action of persons in society, the reason for acting and the moral exigencies that these persons give themselves, or want to give themselves, if not by way of 'ideals'" (Boltanski 2005:20).

One of the main objectives of this approach is to remedy the cleaving of theory and ideas from practice by which, I mean, resolving how grand narratives and small narratives are acquired, incorporated and integrated into the actions of social actors, and this understanding, without stripping the actor of a say in the matter. Thévenot (2009) stated this goal as reuniting the moral and philosophical character of the social scientist with his critical capacity to do research. Hence, researchers are supposed to say

something rather than to feign some post-modern fantasy of neutrality. Based on the book, *On Justification,* (Botanski and Thévenot, [1991] 2006), the following themes have come to define this approach: exclusion of the researcher from a position of exteriority to the research he engages, an irreducible plurality of practical-viewpoints in social reality, and the linking of knowledge forms used in social practices of justification to themes expressed in political philosophy (Boltanski 2011:360; Blokker 2011:252). While critical sociology has a somewhat unclear meaning in the rest of the world, loosely revolving around scholarly attempts to observe and critique social movements and social problems, in France, it means the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu and his "habitus-field-capital" paradigm (Blokker 2011:252). While its roots sought a departure from Bourdieu's critical enterprise, pragmatic sociology of critique has been reunited with this approach in more recent approaches, most notably Boltanski's (2011) *On Critique*...

One of the key departures from critical sociology is that this newer approach invests the common actor with the capacity to be deluded or inspired, and hence to be understood as a locus for critique; whereas critical sociology, and much of the Marxist tradition, use Engels' conception of a false consciousness to strip the actor of any self-contained potency, and to render them critically ineffective at the personal level (Marcuse 1964; Boltanski and Thévenot (2006). In light of Hilger's reading of Bourdieu, I find this criticism wanting, although at least empirically, Bourdieu represents this domination frequently (1972, 1999, 2002). In this section I deal primarily with the work of Boltanski and Thévenot to whom the approach is largely credited. While offering a way of uniting structure and critique in a model where each is implicated in the meaning of the other, at a practical level, this approach suggests, following, Latour (1991, 2005), Sayer (2000),

Archer (2003), De Certeau (1984) and Dean (1994) that actors contribute to what Foucault (1976:132) has called the 'tactically polyvalent" unstable nature of critiques in the lived world.

The bridge between structure and agency in this approach is to not separate out the two "forces" in the first place. There are morally capable human agents, and there are structural forces, manifest in forms of knowledge, sometimes embodied in what we call "institutions" and they are linked insomuch as human agents make diverse moral decisions about how to engage in this unstable and threatening world of ideas and situations (Boltanski 2011:55). The world is a threatening place in the sense that reality is dominated by conflict; between persons, groups and between persons and institutions and is further made precarious by institutional and administrative failures, all which lead to "Boltanski's "hermeneutic contradiction." Reality is constantly shaken up by forces "external" and "internal" to actors. Hermeneutic contradiction is the critical moment in the space opened by the discontinuity between "the forms of domination in a certain social order from a position of exteriority…" and "from within, by actors involved in disputes, and inserted into sequences of critique and justification, of highly variable levels of generality" (50).

Instead of trying to find a single moral-normative basis, (or dogmatic truth) if you will, this approach recognizes that neither the sociological enterprise nor the varying moral capacities of agents are neutral or reducible to others. In pragmatic sociology there are numerous "criteria of justification" that recombine in the actions and choices of human agents to produce a plurality of possible views on common good. Hence, in this approach, the critique that comes from actors is similar to the position of personal

metaphysics, discussed earlier by Latour (2005) and Archer (2003) that unites the points of views *as expressed* by actors with the establishment of meaningful realities. In this sense, the approach distinguishes itself from critical positions that impose an exterior force like ideology, or universal normative theories of value, upon the actor as a vessel open to suggestion and incapable of internalizing, and, therefore, forming a relations with the idea. For Bourdieu, this meant that individuals were more or less powerless to the force of doxa, or to symbolic power and violence. For Critical Theory, it meant that actors knew not of what they should reject, and for critical realists, it suggests, that moral capacity is less urgent than quirky and behavioral capacities of thinking actors for whom a bright sunrise, or an unanticipated assemblage of people might lead to critical motivations. While I see ways of understanding aspects of Dignity Village in each of these lenses, pragmatic sociology of critique *assumes* that actors commonly and basically establish a critical relationship to known ideals.

This stands in stark contrast to critical sociology for which Boltanski especially felt the need to find separation in his early works. Later, however, Boltanski (2011) approaches an erudition of critical sociology from the starting point of social domination, a wary topic he insists because, on the one hand it has come following Weber, to mean the different ways, *modes of domination*, that power comes to be in the service of politics (2011:9). On the other hand, it has also been used to critique egregious forms of domination that are blatant, exploitative and cruel. He uses domination as a conceptual problematic by which to explore the possibility of a convergence between critical sociology and critique, a convergence that though feasible, will never be free of tensions (1).

For Boltanski, traditional modes of sociology create a synthetic object to make a mode of analysis possible. The only subject sociology can see is power relations (2). Because social relations are imagined as *shot through with power*, this object is easily visible and reproducible. Power, again, following Weber (1978) as opposed to domination, or oppression, tends to be rationalized in order to meet the requirements of justification. These rationales and the practices associated with them become routinized to the degree that once performed so correctly, they suggest a certain legitimate authority. Critique of authority in this case would be directed to the very principles of rationality on which it is founded. An action is determined just on the basis of constitutionality, or fair on the basis of legality. Seen as arbitrary as opposed to legitimate, power cannot be measured on the basis of a set of principles and so resistance to it through collective critique seems incomprehensible (2). Critical theories of domination however, "posit the existence of profound, enduring asymmetries which, while assuming different forms in different contexts, are constantly duplicated to the point of colonizing reality as a whole" (2).

My argument (2012) has been that under neoliberalism, domination hides behind the mask of liberty and freedom; "it (domination) does not speak of itself and is concealed in systems whose patent forms of power are merely their most superficial dimensions" (Boltanski 2011:92). There is still power. Domination creates the conditions by which individuals not only serve the interests of others in unwitting ways, at times, but during others, like military service, as if they were willing to extend its exercise. And in the case of the Dignity Villagers, a willingness to live and govern in poverty as part of their contribution to a better world. The point behind all this is that

theories of power and theories of domination create different objects, but objects just the same. Power can look at various dimensions without necessarily integrating them all into a total picture. Power can be appropriated by weak and strong, as it is in Foucault.

Boltanski would argue that this is somewhat naïve, and that we need to undress domination for what it is and how it is enacted. Domination critique seeks to unmask the relations between these dimensions in order to provide an imagining of an holistic system. Hence, sociology (the gaze to power) looks at societies; critical theories of domination look at social orders (3). Rarely, however, do they look at the critical capacity of actors to engage outside of the structures of domination or power that social sciences impose on them. This as I mentioned is a weakness in Foucault. Put another, way Boltanski would argue that in theories of domination, all human activities are integrated with the forces of domination, and under theories of power, all relationships are about power, even if it is at a personal level. Beyond this tendency to wrap social life up into neat bundles that constrain research by setting up its objectives, Boltanski questions how critical social sciences that seek emancipation can still employ a model where researchers know more or understand better than those living out the injustices that are observed.

Boltanski wrote: "Bourdieu's critical sociology is unquestionably the most audacious enterprise ever attempted to try to conjoin in the same theoretical construction highly constraining requirements supervising sociological practice and radical critical positions. That is also why we can find in this oeuvre most of the problems posed by the linking of sociology and critique to which I have just referred" (2011:18). Beyond the misconstruction of power as the critical object for critical sociology, pragmatic sociology also sought to distance itself from the over determination of structure through the

universal effectiveness of habitus to unconsciously constrain human potential. Quite the converse, pragmatic sociology sees human action as "deeply implicated in situations" (Blokker 2011:252). The drive of this position is that situations are always in need of interpretation partly owing to their own elasticity, but more so because human agents have the capacity to influence the world around them in mundane and in profound ways. The transcendental element in this arrangement is the agent's recourse to "justificatory narratives" - an ability to make choices that run counter to the sociological imperative of self-interested capacities is pluralistic and uncertainty and critical moments are always present in institutions, daily lives and semantic structures, regardless of what researchers wish to find (253). In this approach, pragmatic ethnography would want to understand the critical capacity produced by actors trying to make sense of hermeneutic contradictions, and devising ways of overcoming these.

As part and parcel of a set of underlying structures in Bourdieu's critical sociology, Boltanski argues, "The stress put on the circular relations between underlying structures and incorporated dispositions thus combines to reduce the uncertainty confronting actors in situations in which they must act" (Boltanski 2011:22). For Bourdieu, the tension in making a decision to act is based on the temporal confrontation of possibilities, that is considerations paid by the actor to the cause and effects of her choices of action, as elements of a temporal range of choices, so that each element is perceived of as linked to the other in a causal way. This is the pragmatic deliberation that unites our work.

Boltanski's main criticism is that in the sense that they must be observed in an order of occurrence, by an exterior observer in order to have analytic capacity, such

observations are retrospective and preclude a critical moment for actors because they tend to reproduce the illusion of causal logic in the order of determination (165). Pragmatic sociology looks at each act as a moment unto itself, and asks what the uncertainty is for the actor if she should choose to go in one direction or another, despite the normative or common tendency of others to act in a certain way, because life is full of examples where this kind of divergent action occurs (ibid).

Inherent to this possibility for actors to act in other ways, is Boltanski's endowing the actor with greater awareness than Bourdieu, or Habermas, or perhaps even Foucault would give them. Boltanski is arguing quite simply that when power operates though sublime or unrevealed categories of experience on actors who apparently are unaware of its manipulative effects, one is really observing a case of domination. But he asserts that actors are not necessarily "the "deceived beings" or "cultural dopes" referred to by Harold Garfinkel" (in Boltanski 2011:20). A pragmatic sociology seeks to redress the tendency of other theories of power and domination to overlook the actor's critical capacity. Critical capacity should be understood as both the innate qualities of the actor, but also of the conditions that varying situations impose on actors to act or to comply. Situations have a relation to the larger structures in which they are imbedded, but to which common actors rarely give much analytical attention. However, I have to argue that in cases, a critical and reflexive ethnographic method is a means to mutual awareness, co-creation of critical attitudes and not to domination or manipulation.

Take this exchange for example:

Terry Potts/Eric Weissman (DS DISC 1, *Subtext ROM Cut* at 54:40)

Terry is standing in his bedroom leaning against the window. It's a tiny place. His neighbor's are cracked out and he ahs been trying to quit crack. He just came back after sleeping on the path at Cherry Beach because the crack was so bad. Someone had just

put a bullet through his window accidentally, just nights before. This was the kind of housing he had received in the program. WoodGreen Community Services had just announced the opening of its Housing First, supported housing project. It would open in a year to so and I was suggesting that he should get into that.

I tell him, "There's gonna be a bunch of units for people to live in for a year to two years. And they're not going to be allowed to have people dropping in and hanging out. " Terry is anxious already. He had been in jail for over thirty years of his fifty, and just the idea of a controlled living space like that has his communicative blockers on. I go on, "They are going to have counseling and vocational therapy, and it's going to be an in-house system…… and."

He's agitated but polite, "Okay so let's say it was me. They're gonna put me down there for a year and you're not gonna have nothing except what's inside that building for an entire year."

I speak loudly and defiantly. We are having an argument, and its on camera, "That's not true, you can go out and do stuff!"

He is equally defiant, "No, No, but 90% of the time you're stuck inside," he is convinced. The conversation went on.

We discussed the fact that he is using Percocet too much - faking back pain at hospitals to get scripts that he sells so he can make cash to buy pot and crack. That kind of activity was common amongst the folks I knew at Tent City.

I reminded him, " You said that people need supports and they need rehab and this is what they're offering people."

He concurred, "I agree, but I think they are going about it the wrong way."

A few minutes went by. Terry retreated to the ledge of the large picture window. He was shuffling and edgy. I zoomed in on his face with the camera and I walked closer to him, imposing proximity on him, in order to force a rejoinder. There's a close up of his face.

I say, "You and I have shared some very powerful moments (he is nodding)… correct?" He nods more with a quiescent smile. I add, " Let's be honest, you're going into hospital and lying to them about back pain and getting thirty 'perks,' do you think if there was a program (on the word program he becomes restless again) you could go into—let me say if, and at the end of it you could come out and feel great about yourself and not have to do that would you do it?"

"—But why?! I am not hurting anyone…"

I insist, "That's debatable. There are people who think that that hurts."

He admits, " Okay but I'm not standing on a corner punching somebody out an robbing them…"

I assure him, that there are people who would prefer he did that because then they could put him in jail again. My point being that guys who are ripping off the system for drugs at the taxpayers' expense are generally understood as criminals anyway. The place in the conventional mindset for criminals is jail.

I push him further, "Do you not think if there was a system that could actually…"

"No! Because they're not going to supply my weed. And that's the major thing for me. Above anything.. I wanna smoke weed. And if I can't smoke weed then I am not interested in it."

I asked him what it did for him.

"I like the buzz. It mellows me out, look at me. I'm nice and calm, my face is lit up, I'm happy – you seen me smoke a twenty-piece (crack)? You seen me smoke a twenty piece. (Chuckling) – there's a big difference between smoking a joint and doing that!" (This conversation is viewable on DS DISC 1 - *Subtext ROM Cut* at 00:55:00)

By the time our conversation was done, we had reached the critical moment, which I can only describe as a sort of typical aporietic moment; his choices about housing and community had to do with fear and addiction. There were several moments where I could have stopped the camera or given up the line of questioning, but my familiarity with Terry, and our mutual trust, allowed us to go further to the point where he could no longer make a *reasonable argument in the sense of an argument that actually was a critique or indictment of the system; there was no justification from any recognizable economy of worth*. His position was a uniquely crafted rationalization based on his unique experience and knowledge of what kept him off crack, in good conduct of himself. His critique of the proposed housing facility was based on fear, not a rational point of view at all.[26] Admittedly, this communication is presented as data, but it comes ten years into a relationship where we had long since established a certain friendship. In this approach, it is the human actor faced with decisions in his daily life that provides the critical inertia rather than the social researcher, but the way I practice it, pragmatic ethnography of critique does not exclude the researcher from participating in critical revelations.

Furthermore, critique does not have to be directed to big and socially important issues. Critique does not have to align actors in concerted mass efforts. Critique operates at various levels of action, from thought, to deliberation, in the home, at work, between friends, enemies and in the social arena. Pragmatic sociology of critique, therefore looks the "social world as a scene of trial" (Boltanski 2011:25). And to this degree at least, my

own work, the work of Margaret Archer and other critical realists find alignment with a pragmatic sociology. The above dialogue is a simple indication of how knowledge about poverty and strategies of housing imbricates with micro-social, personal experience of materials like marijuana within the private deliberations of a critical actor. This difficult to comprehend space, sometimes needs to be finessed by a powerful, but sympathetic voice in order to get at the critical identities formed in deliberation about the value of some thing or action, an institution, or mode of self-government.

So it is fair to say that within the context of a state, regimes of governance and strategies for organizing society create structural conditions in which situations arise for actors, but understanding the action, that is those choices and subsequent behaviours towards these ends, is possible only from within the perspective of actors' themselves, whereas understanding the structures has come to be the domain of sociologists. It is because of this staking of a territory of *analytical exclusion* as I call it, (separating the participants in terms of who gets to analyze the information after it is received) that an asymmetry appears between the sociologist as an "expert" and the actors about whom she writes, and who experience the critical moment within the context of relations of power and or domination. The alignment of a pragmatic ethnography of critique should be towards analytical inclusion, in ethnographies directed towards social justice. As Boltanski concludes in his final point of criticism of critical sociology, "a third consequence is to increase the asymmetry between deceived actors and a sociologist capable – and, it would appear from some formulations, the only one capable – of revealing the truth of their social condition to them" (20). It is this posturing of sociology that has led to a tendency amongst most critical positions to silence the voice of those for

whom critique is most salient, the actor, and to give the chords to those who would impose yet another version of truth upon them, in the name of critical truth.

It follows from this, that one of the examples of the impossibility of the ubiquitous deception of actors, or of the omnipotence of structural forms of power and knowledge is the very real, very actual occurrence of dispute in society; confrontations between groups over perceptions about how to do things, between actors over choices to make and between actors and institutions over rules and liberties, especially in matters of social justice. If critical paradigms don't articulate the mechanisms by which action is interpreted on an individual basis, even in the context of forces greater than themselves, than how Boltanski asks, can one understand the disputes in which people engage?

Boltanski in (Boltanski 2011 and also - Boltanski and Thévenot 1999, 2006; Boltanski and Chiapello 2005) discusses specific moments of social life that require the justification of action. In situations of dispute, the need arises to examine the grounds of a complaint, to assign blame, or to address competencies, out of which new agreements are reached (1999:359). The dispute hinges on the system of justifications that underlies this approach, and it is this moment that represents *moments critiques*, or critical moments (ibid). The moment is defined by the critical activity of persons in unusual moments of crisis. The crisis might emerge as a shift in a traditional occupational relationship, such as when a union and an employer begin to diverge on employment policies, or when a homeless community comes to realize that the promises of housing authorities will never be met. It is this process of *realizing* that most critiques, perched on foundational premises, have difficulty understanding. They tend to insert the proclamation, the fiscal measure, the statistic, or the value of reciprocity for example,

into the world of normative truths, and expect a critical reaction, but fail to disclose in a meaningful rendition, how this critical imperative in the mind of an actor turns into the critical action by a group of actors.

Boltanski and Thévenot argued correctly that this is a very reflexive moment in which the actor, or group of actors but acting independently in terms of the reflexive process, engage antecedent narratives about the way things are done, or should be accomplished, and in this way provides a story that links past and present, with a sense of the future that makes sense (1999:360). The critical moment where the critique becomes a critical action depends on when and how successfully the actor shares this discontent or fear with other actors who then, in an unanticipated result, in the sense that we have no way of predicting from outside how it might take effect, join within that narrative and a "scene" results (ibid). While it is understood that socialization, schools, experts, media and other agents of informing and nurturing are efficacious in creating the antecedent narratives, it is also understood that the distribution and range of such narratives is so diversely distributed across actors, that the potential for conflict, and for critique is high. Such conflictual scenarios invoke various systems of justification, that is, that accusers, critics and defendants each have to reproduce acceptable narratives of justification, by which the critical claim is either refuted or recognized as legitimate by other actors.

These situations are transitory because they represent a break in ordinary courses of action. However, the outcome is never predetermined so in order to analyze such moments, one must invoke a frame that anticipates agreement and disagreement – one cannot weight the tendency of power for example to create an acquiescent self-governed claimant who gives up in the face of a stronger argument, to collapse two positions,

Foucault and Habermas, into this simple scenario. This is partly because disputes are not just about the language and the knowledge, or the skill of representing knowledge that both those positions suggest. It is because situations involve human persons and a "large number" of objects, including material resources like money, technological resources like computers, land, titles, copyrights and many others. "The frame must be designed to deal with disputes in the real world, that is, it must be able to describe the way disputes link together persons and things" (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999:361).

The dispute is a tricky situation to unravel. Boltanski argues that in the dispute, to avoid violence or worse, as a sort of worst case scenario, reference must be made to principles of equivalence that conjoin claimants in other narratives outside of the immediate dispute – in a car accident, drivers must appeal to codes and rules of driving, insurance procedures and so on, in order to avoid becoming embroiled in the personal dramas that at the time of the rupture might be fuelling aggravation or passions in general. It is this *regime of equivalence*, that this approach calls the regime of justification, or a *regime of justice* (361). There are other regimes of justification, but the need for justification is central to the approach.

There is an underlying urgency in this approach to demonstrate the legitimacy of claims, that is, to reconcile the veracity of critique with the perception of legitimacy by actors of the claim that represent the undercurrent of acceptable justifiable narratives. Justification, rather than force (power) or deceit (domination) invokes a sense of agency within the claim that critical sociology and critical theories have difficulty imagining. One of the reasons for this failing is that these positions rarely consider the competence of actors in defining what is legitimate and illegitimate because they are perceived of as

shaped into their relative competence by regimes of practice, or tricked into choosing certain actions by insidious regimes of domination. That actors in the real world have to rely on this competence to address lived confrontations and conflicts at the personal, professional and political level, suggests that they have the capacity to truly act when they denounce social injustice or reveal their "foes" hidden motives"(364).

For Boltanski there is no single measure of equivalence nor a universal basis on which to gauge justification. There is no external truth that can be imposed into every situation, nor a universal series of justifications that must be employed by groups produced in critiques of domination. Such universal explanations amount to nothing more than Utopias (365). As a bridge between universal formalism and unlimited pluralism, Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) offer the "possibility of a limited plurality of principles of equivalence." Instead of attributing the different systems of justifications to different groups, the way traditional sociology would do it, Boltanski and Thévenot attribute the plurality to varied *situations*. The implication for the actor is that one must be able to shift from situation to situation at various points during one's, day, week, year, lifetime, career and so on. Similarly, it means one must have the skills or knowledge of what types of justification are relevant in different situations and to not impose justifications from one situation on another. Being legitimate in one situation means applying the relevant knowledge and actions to that experience, and in the case of dispute or negotiation, to invoke the logic of that regime of justice.

Boltanski and Thévenot ([1991] 2006) reviewed a spate of classical political philosophical texts to understand how notions of equivalence and humanity were incorporated over time into the practices of organizations, cities, people, and the like.

They identified different principles of equivalence and suggested a model by which they can be said to support justifiable claims. In sum they found that in cases of dispute (non-violent), there were common constraints that shape the behaviour of people involved; arguments must be based on strong evidence and demonstrate a serious desire to converge on resolution of the dispute (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999:366). The majority of the sources they reviewed were less concerned with force or power, than with understanding political and social equilibrium. Hence they found an important theme; that human beings are perceived of as unique and separated beings, but united by the fundamental quality of equality. Boltanski and Thévenot regard persons as essentially equal, but principles of order of equivalence and worth about persons or things and of occupations and so on, do exist that tend to separate out exceptional persons and desires from the ordinary, while providing a common basis by which to provide actors with a sense of place in different situations. While the qualities that might define these standards shift, it is suggested that these qualitative measures of worth play a role in the justifications people employ in daily life. *The critical moment is exactly the moment when these standards of worth are called into question* (367). As such the quality of a thing, a computer for example, or of a person, the programmer's skills, might be called into question. Into these disputes enter *reality tests*, which enable judgments based on grounded and legitimate agreement and offer a resolution to disputes.

The justifications that one might need to call up in the process of a day are summed up as estimations of *worth* peculiar to "Common Worlds" or *cités* (Boltanski and Chiapello, [1999] 2005; Boltanski and Thévenot [1991] 2006). It is from the roles and narratives that each of these worlds prescribes or creates that individuals passing

though these worldly identities at any given time can find recourse to justification arguments. While these worlds are based on the descriptions contained in handbooks and guides, texts that is, that tell people how to do or be certain things, such organizing principles find their way into human actors though social interactions, learning situations as it were, as well. Boltanski issues the proviso that some of these "ideal" worlds are more developed in reality than others and that some are simply emerging—further that other worlds concomitant with new worths, the (environmentalist) *green* worth or a (high-tech) *communicative* worth," are being devised given the growth of communications and media and environmental crises around the globe (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999:368).

The first world is the world of *Inspiration*, based on St. Augustine's, *City of God*. Worth is based on one's relationship to the external source from which all worth is determined. It is a worth marked by Grace. It neither asks for rewards or recognition, nor requires such to provide worth. Recognition of others is completely unnecessary. Worth is measured by a sense of calm, transcendence, grace, and emotional stability. There is a sense that this world is governed by a universal sense of transcendent immaterialism, however, it is not dogmatic, nor foundational on other aspects of the lived world.

The second world is the *Domestic* world. Worth is determined based on kinship, lineage, and estate. Having a family, and being recognized within that structure as fulfilling the duties of one's respective role is vital. One is a good leader, a good reciprocator, delegator, or distinguished, and straightforward (371). The third world is the world of *Renown*, which is based on Hobbe's *Leviathan* ((371). In a domestic world, worth is based on one's value in a hierarchical chain of highly regarded commitments,

but in the world of Renown, worth is determined solely by other peoples' opinions. Conventional signs of public esteem secure stability, their absence or rejection become points of personal conflict. Based on Rousseau's *The Social Contract*, in the fourth, the *Civic* world, people have worth to the degree that they are participant in the activities of membership in society. One is a good labourer, a good citizen, and a contributor to the general well being of the group. Beings are perceived of here not in their role as individual beings, but as collective beings. Important persons are federations, delegates, public communities, volunteers and the like (372). The fifth world is the *Market* world, it is loosely based on Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Important persons here are buyers and sellers. They are worthy when they are rich, and connect to one another in competitive relationships aligned with the market (372). Lastly is the Industrial world where worth is measured by efficiency. Great persons are experts. Lowly persons are unskilled, poor or homeless folks. Worth is productive, efficient, calculating, effective and so on. Relationships are said to be harmonious when they are in sync, measurable, harmonious, and stabilized (Basaure 2011:373).

Because persons move in and out of these worlds, criticism can result from their participation in one world but importing reality tests from another. In other words, in the case of the shantytown, no longer content with the tidbits tossed their way, the homeless strike and campaign and make an appeal to justice contained in the constitutional laws that govern poverty. Emergency campground laws also exist in the civic world, and afford the poor an opportunity to justify their critique. Similarly, the same poor person cannot enter a business and demand money or support on the basis of being deserving under a civic sense of justification, because in the industrial world, they have no such

claim. “The situation is then criticized as unfair because a kind of worth relevant inside one world has been carried into another” (373). The underlying principle on which the test is based remains unchallenged, and denunciation of the other, the critique, or its rejoinder is that the worth test has been inappropriately applied to conditions where it has no merit. So one source of conflict, that is critical to understanding conflict, is when one tries to assume justification in one world based on the narrative of justice from another, where it can be said the opposing narratives are not interchangeable. Hence resistance to the shantytown comes not from within, but from other actors who see it as an argument whose justifications in the civic world are outdated or incorrect altogether. Furthermore, they see the village as a microcosm of all the worlds, and in this sense it fails to justify itself on economic, domestic and other worths. The critique of which the shantytown is a part is very much one of proving its worth in these various worlds, but on the basis of new justifications it is fighting to implant into them. For conventional justification arguments, the village seems radical or worse, ambiguous. Ambiguity is more frightening and problematic to external critique because it is not clear what criteria are to be used. At least a radical lawless den of iniquity can be criticized and shuttered on the basis that it breaks laws or is a threat, but a place that is poorly defined, and therefore *open to many* positions is harder to place.

A more crucial and radical critique occurs when from within the world, one attempts to change the narrative on which justification based. In this case, the critique emerges as a critical action where the aim is to replace a test with an altogether new idea, or one from another world. So for example, environmentalists enter the Industrial world and fight for greener industrial practices; the homeless claim land and build housing

regardless of civic codes forbidding such use. One of the very positive notions in this approach is that though they posit 6 ideal types, they also suggest that the types are rarely as pure as they seem. That the question of purity is important, for the more impure a world, or a situation is, defined by elements of different worlds, the more likely there is to be conflicts between reality tests and worth. There is a veritable degree of ambiguity in these situations, or what they call *situations troubles*. In the case of homeless persons making claims on housing space, a claim within the Civic world, one might see homeless people with tents, placards, shopping carts, facing off against police with barricades, loud horns and city bylaw codes. The more *objects* from differing worlds enter a situation, the more likely there is to be conflict of some kind. Space is an important object in this sense, and it will be discussed in the next chapter. In the sense that Boltanski et al present objects, the shantytown as a bounded parcel, a container of questionable social relations and a physical "eyesore", creates the likelihood of conflict with other worlds. The way I am trying to shape it, the village is an ambiguous world of worlds, where liminality defines the justifications created by actors, caught up in the pragmatic navigation of extreme poverty. This concentrated spatialization of liminality that is the village, therefore, provokes critique of various kinds.

By way of indexing the intermixing of worlds and worth and tests, pragmatic sociology of critique suggests that by overlapping the six worlds, one can see probable loci of conflict and critique. For example, the Domestic world where personal relationships and strong character are the keys to worth, finds as problematic the juridical and arbitrary nature of the civic world where character and lineage are usurped by universalized laws and codes. The world of Inspiration is going to have difficulty with

the Industrial since the latter is destructive and self-serving, mundane and material, and the former measures worth on the absence of such materialism.

More importantly for the task at hand in this dissertation, I would want to ask, to what degree the world of the homeless, which integrates sufficient material and behavioral diversity so as to constitute its own world, a between-world not proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot, might fit into this framework. I am suggesting that the Shantytown is a liminal world, much as homelessness is, and in so much as it is emerging, it is in the process of creating its own justifications. It is towards framing these justifications that a pragmatic and critical ethnography of Dignity Village is directed.

Boltanski suggests that the outcome of disputes is not always the displacement of one justification over another. There can be compromise. Boltanski points out that compromises are often ridiculed because what they really do is subordinate the claim of each narrative to the power of an unseen external value that suggests the negotiation of positions. Hence, the homeless will feel vindicated if the city chooses not to evict them from a park one night, in the name of a struggle for "justice", even if it means their rights to housing have not fully been met. Workers will accept a 2% pay increase, as a compromise with the industrial powers that be, in a confrontation between the civic world where citizens have rights, and the industrial world, where labour is a mere cost of production. Where the radical criticism challenges a principle, the dispute becomes a competition between two reality tests (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999:374). Closure can come in the form of choosing one test over another. Or in the case of Dignity Village, closure will follow the period of justification creation in which it is engaged. I am arguing that the justifications in which it is imbricated is primarily dictated by a

neoliberal sense of conduct, and it is here that pragmatic sociology of critique and governmentality join PEOC to interrogate the liminal world of the village. The village must constantly justify itself to city and state governance that it complies with two essential reality tests. The first is the strictly codified rationalization of the village imposed by the city; the other is its ability to regenerate self-conducting citizens, and regardless of worlds or justifications, this is primarily case of governmentality – that is a case where the justification is to a discourse on what government means in the classic sense of self-conduct, and of conduct towards others.

Where pragmatic critique of sociology is strongest is in creating a series of interconnected worlds that correspond to the life events of actors, and out of which emerge the potential for disputes, that is for critical action from the position of an actor faced with a conundrum. Critique in the form of accusations and disputes are based on the description of the situation in terms of understandings of common good. Where the approach had suffered, in earlier forms, was from a lack of any critical mechanism to adjudicate the link between worlds and their worths, and the subtle nuanced behaviour of actors that could account for the substrate by which narratives and reality tests are forced to collide. That is; if critical action is real, and lived, that does not mean all action is critical; in fact it could not be so (Boltanski 2011:51). "The critical activity stands out against a *background* which, far from being critical, can on the contrary be characterized by a sort of tacit adherence to reality as it presents itself in the course of ordinary activities; or by a taken-for-granted world…to account for the pregnancy of this background, we must return to the sociology of *institutions*"(51).

For Boltanski institutions are foundational, operating within the worlds of worths, and in a sense presenting a structured means by which to suggest unbiased accounts of the world. Unlike actors who are grounded and embodied, the perception of an institution is largely that of an ethereal nexus for the locating of narratives in a bodiless state. Though they work through spokespersons, institutions present themselves as exterior proof of "whatness of what is" (55). They produce knowledge that might be called common sense, but Boltanski argues there is nothing benevolent or gracious about their role; they frame orders and narratives of justification that are almost always those of domination and exploitation. Still, much of sociology has looked towards these common sense constructions, ideology, conventional wisdom, symbolic imaginaries, "mainstream" attitudes, as a sort of equalizing mechanism in society, rather than at the points of discord that Boltanski, and Thévenot have examined. Surely it can be argued that the common sense produced by institutions has a moderating effect, but it is the often-rapid shifts from common sense to moments of rupture that call up narratives of justice and therefore are crucial for understanding critique (56). Reality then, is an insufficient premise on which to base critique. It is necessary to study the imbrication of "what hangs together and what is stamped with uncertainty," if one is to understand critique. Dignity Village and homelessness in general, is liminality; liminality is uncertainty. So, critique is a process of discerning means to address uncertainty and is in pragmatic terms, a liminal event (Boland 2013; Szakolczai 2000).

Some of this is difficult to me. Even if reality is socially constructed, it in no way implies a stable set of affairs. Furthermore, the idea of *the real world* is not only simplistic and convenient; it misses the point entirely. Even with the tendency of some

institutions charged with creating numbers to map society according to risk probabilities, a common feature if not the raison d'etre of neoliberal governance, probability is a concept designed to measure and integrate the radical or non-common experience into common experience. So there can be no understanding of a real reality without understanding what the points of departure are; that is where the axis for critiques of the common sense resides. In a world absent of institutions that render the unknowable, knowable and manage the narratives that might enter critique, the result would be social chaos and constant instability. A society in which either institutions or critique was a totalizing feature, would be undesirable and impossible (58-60).

Yet institutions and critique are set off against one another in this model; critique as a sort of countervailing force to the stabilizing role of institutions, which implies that their imbrication is a tantalization, a necessary codependence on which modern society is understood. Still, one must be able to address social change. Since critique and critical action are directed towards revealing or resolving conflicts in opposed ways of seeing and doing, then how does a pragmatic sociology of critique anticipate social change? If institutions do not have the totalizing effect of renewing and repeating systems of domination, or maintaining the status quo, how does social change happen? Where most sociologies have attempted to understand how societies and cultures tend to reproduce themselves, they have looked at the stabilizing functions of social things like institutions. Boltanski's position is classical, but with a twist.

Change is the constant in the world, and it is against this fundamental dynamic that institutions struggle. It is not the problem of stability that institutions must face; that would not be problematic; it is instability and change that defines the real force behind

worth worlds, institutions and actors. Assuming that all the worlds can be collapsed into hermeneutically simplified "world' where under capitalism, political regimes can be said to be the designers and implementers of systems of domination, it would be possible to distinguish types of domination and the possibility for critique (change) they anticipate (125-7).

Domination changes, everything changes; *simple* domination is total, violent and constitutes oppression. Boltanski cites slavery as an example, but one could argue the case that poor houses and workfare (under neoliberalism) were equally oppressive. In any event, such extreme domination renders critique difficult or impossible. There are other kinds of simple domination, such as the tests used by officials, to award merit or more currently, and pertinent to this dissertation, the use of fundamental concepts of freedom and rights contained in constitutional frames to define the legal boundaries that housing critique and their manifestations in critical actions might take. Where simple domination seeks to control the world by use of police and force, modern neoliberalism seeks to do so though a system of complex, managerial capitalism, where experts are looked upon as avatars of authority and understanding (2011:136). Under the neologism, *wol&real,* dominant institutions create the illusion that circumstance beyond their control explain the necessity of their actions, however dominating or liberating they might be constructed to appear (137). Disguised within this existential shill, institutions are occupied by groups of powerful people, not ideas or physical circumstances that, so hidden, are hard to identify within the critiques that would expose them. Hence, once again, Boltanski returns to a turn away from looking at structures and institutions as "building blocks" on which to place the mantle of responsibility for stability and injustice, but to the people

behind them who perpetuate in their own (capitalist) interests and justifications, the injustices that confront people, and align worth worlds in a struggle with matters of humanity. Institutions are not bad. Structure is not bad, it is actual, but the people that can be said to occupy these constructs need to be understood and held responsible for the injustices so often blamed on the institution or the structural condition. Critique therefore, is not an opposition to institutions or to structure, but as a form of narrative and action that co-exists as a system of checks and balances that reveals the contradictions, injustices and other ways of doing established practices that might transcend the dominating and exploitative route of capitalism. Critique is the other side of the coin. As one activist in Portland remarked, "we are the remoras, picking off the parasites, keeping it all clean."

Clearly people living in the same community, experiencing the same 'domination' or relative empowerment, can see the world in different ways or employ various manners of action or inaction by which to address these senses. Dignity Village is a faulty microcosm of life "outside." There are political structures, laws, rules, village sections that act as neighborhoods, a class system based on degrees of citizenship, religious factions, economic structures and micro businesses. All the worlds that unite or divide people in broader economies of worth exist here as a sort of experiment – a transitional world; Is there room for a between-world in Boltanski's model? Where pragmatic critique of sociology is strongest is in creating a series of interconnected complete worlds that correspond to the life events of actors, and out of which emerge the potential for disputes, that is for critical action from the position of an actor faced with a conundrum. A weakness is understanding incomplete worlds, or worlds one might define as

composed of many other worlds; the fractured world of liminality, like Dignity Village.[27]

I find Boltanski's work useful at many levels and very problematic. The ideas of interconnected worlds of worth and the justifications used in these are very intriguing. The idea that the dynamic concern for society is conflict and resolution, rather than peace and stability is also I would argue empirically valid. However, there are limits to his pragmatic sociology of critique. He imposes limits on the potential for change because of the strength of institutions which he says are dominant, but suggests that critique of justifications has the effect in cases, of influencing shifts in how things are dominated. If one is suggesting that domination can be changed – the way domination happens can be changed – then one is arguing the material of domination (power) can be shifted, and so we are once again talking about power in a Foucauldian sense. What is the point of critique, if it is pointless - that is if it denies power just as it relies on it? Actors engage in critique and act critically because they have the power to do so. Is domination a simple situation of a person or groups of persons having more power? If so, critique and power are just two sides of one coin, and to be successful one must displace the other, but this by no means suggests a closed state of affairs. Boltanski's emancipation premise is weak in the sense that it suggests a shift in which a group's justification become more important through critical action, which suggest that domination is really just a particular configuration of power, a measurable if not mappable thing, that is constantly shifting. There is also the question of what happens when critique is successful and displaces extant power. Ibrahim suggested earlier, freedom under certain circumstances is understood as a dominating concept as well. So does domination have to be a bad or unjust thing to be avoided? If one must work to keep their freedom, if they must organize

and lead and teach and do all the things that freedom fighters like Ibrahim suggest, are freedom and domination in this context, the same thing?

Boltanski has left undeveloped the transitional capacities of actors moving in and out of worlds and what that space looks like. The idea that his economies of worth are reducible to certain qualities, is misleading, since I would argue they each inhere liminal and therefore unknown qualities and experiences; the world of the homeless is an altogether liminal between-world we will discuss later as sort of heterotopic third space where all these worlds collide and are fragmented, remain unachievable, and there is no way to understand the psychology or sociology of liminal mental and social space without participating in it.

5.13 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I answered Latour's challenge to critique by arguing that by following actors' ideas and visions of alternative reality, we can get a sense of what they say reality looks like, as well as an idea of what the critical actors' assemblages look like. I am not worried that we have never been modern, or that my computer has influence; I recognize these statements might be true, and I argued that there is room in PEOC for understanding how actors attach meaning to these things, and thereby to know what role they play in reassembling the social.

I then discussed how three classic philosophical approaches categorize critique on the basis of applying a foundational principle that makes social contexts or issues just (critical dogmatism); creating communities of debate over the applicability of competing normative ideals (transcendental critique) and finally I presented Derrida's

deconstructionism, which argues for exposing the system that makes a certain matter of justice recognizable. It is towards this position that my interpretive work tends to point, and it is why I earlier suggested the link between reflexive, critical and pragmatic traditions in a pragmatic ethnography of critique. I then discussed and briefly critiqued critical theory, critical sociology and critical realism. There are elements of each that seem of value.

From critical theory, the idea that capital works to reproduce the conditions of its existence by duping people is intriguing, but short sighted; the world is full of resistance to capital so a false consciousness cannot really exist. There must be other reasons why people accept domination. Critical sociology is regaining popularity, even by Boltanski who rejoined Bourdieu in *On Critique*. This renewed popularity is precisely because despite our awareness of domination, we generally are doing less to effectively change it, and Bourdieu had argued that it was the researcher's moral obligation to inform transformative capacities. His work does tend to limit the freedom of actors through the performance of habitus, but he too cannot or does not recognize how periods of extended liminality might result from failed habitus. Instead, even if the force of habitus might hold them back, liminal personae like junkies or homeless people are understood in critical sociology as victims of structural violence (Bourgois and Schonberg 2009). The capacity for Bourdieu's framing in current experiences of massive poverty and displacement of people into homelessness suggests the inter-structural position they inhabit needs to be more fully theorized. Critical realism asks us to accept the existence of objective structure, but to agree to not see it. I find this blind faith in an objective reality dubious, simply because the root to discerning it, the actor's ideas and style of

presenting them, is more unstable than Archer concludes, and so what then is an objective reality? However, I find the idea of an inner conversation very useful as the location of pragmatic critique, useful that is, so long as we abandon the possibility of conversation "types," in favour of the possibility that each actor has multiple conversational propensities that change over time, and therefore require a long term and systematic interrogation. If this is true, then objective realities cannot be known, even if they do exist, because the actors' understandings or critique of the events they generate is unstable, so the link to reality is unstable too – like looking through the "snow" on an analogue TV screen, I might imagine.

I then discussed Foucault and Boltanski. Foucault is interesting to me for the way he argues that all actors are inherently critical and powerful, and that freedom is to be understood as the range of choices a person might make towards self-conduct. The idea that resistance is built into neoliberal governmentality and has spaces for it is also interesting. Foucault's work on space is very limited as we will discuss in the next chapters. Beyond this, Foucault, and Boltanski each dismiss grand normative narratives, and so they don't show how such grand foundational beliefs might under current regimes of power be efficacious in determining struggle. In cases where normative struggles arise, they are the result of discourses in epistemes or in worlds of worth, but rarely transcend this constructed nature. In fact, there is little room for struggle in Foucault except in extreme cases, rare cases, of domination. Furthermore, governmentality cannot account for the random acts of people, and is completely incapable of understanding liminal experiences, since they are for Foucault, aspects of the self-transformative process, or of temporary autonomous zones, counter-conducts, rather than intact frames of existence. I

am arguing the village is that, an intact, perpetually liminal frame of existence reinforced by the spatial and temporal conditions that determine its legal sanction.

For governmentality studies, failed conduct and unusual acts are not a sign of an act in the sense of "acts of citizenship", but an indication of how governing is faulty – the ability of the governor, whether it be the city, the village council or the villager, is not doing it right. There is little room for the actor to choose a completely different mode of doing something. Lastly, Foucault by locating power in actors and in regimes of power, and Boltanski by endowing actors with innate critical ability through justifications, have a hard time anticipating life in a world like the village. As I mentioned, Delanty points out an important weakness in Foucault, namely that his approach fails to reconcile subjectivities that are not explainable by recourse to notions of disciplinary power (2011:84). I am also very confused by the way by Boltanski disguises power as domination. As I mentioned, it is still a question of the substance of domination, which is power, and this invites contests at the individual and social level, which is in fact an expression of freedom through the exercise of power. Without power struggles and the instances where they present senses of being dominated, actors tend to lose sight of the need to fight for freedom; they forget they have or need to pursue their political power. This is what Ibrahim had said earlier, and it is exactly what I am going to argue is wrong with the village now. At least in Foucault, we get a sense that subjects are always exercising power in the face of decisions they must make to be free. I also don't see the justification premise of Boltanski as liberating or critical in the important sense that actors need to transcend mundane critical action to arrive at participation in critiques of social justice like homelessness. Thus far the transcripts from the village all confirm that

mundane justification in the form of argumentation about petty and material elements of life in the village is what has strangled its potential towards social critique. My last observation of pragmatic sociology of critique is that economies of worth are seen as complete worlds, and though they overlap, the liminal space of homelessness is absorbed into the internal systems by which actors should become established in unique domains of, for example, civic, political and religious worlds. A world of liminal potential of its own makes little sense in a model where established institutions and reality tests exist, because neither *can be* in a "cite" of perpetually liminal experience. I am going to propose that the village is such a between-world, if only to get at how hard it is for critique to take hold there.

Each of these five approaches contributes to my understanding of how to critique the village, and to understand the critique produced in the village. I think a major weakness of modern social critique is that it has hard time testing its criteria and methods in spaces that are hard to define. Liminal or transitional subjectivities are seen as temporary and usually as epiphenomenon of the critical action or the critique as it emerges over time. Rarely is the idea of perpetual liminality understood as a human condition that produces and is understandable by various forms of critique, because it is ambiguous and not wholly formed in a manner that is subject to external critiques. Even deconstruction has difficulty in deconstructing what is not wholly present, but it offers the best shot. When we meet people with mental health issues, addictions and alternative lifestyles, we find it difficult to think of them as legitimate critical actors and this becomes even more of a conundrum when we find ourselves in communities defined by these ambiguous states of being.

In the next chapter it will become clear that the irony is that as western economies shrink, as traditional rituals and practices for transitioning through life fail, conventional mental and physical spaces are starting to be displaced by liminal experiences. The liminal homeless person is no longer scattered to a space reserved for her by history - the streets, shelters, mental wards and prisons, they are becoming increasingly concentrated, creating new mental and physical spaces where life in the liminal realm challenges our conventional ways of understanding homelessness. Before going to the next chapter, I want to share an illustrative passage from *Dignity in Exile*.

In the following long excerpt, villager Dave Samson speaks to a number of critiques to which some of the villagers are attached. I had this conversation with him just after a regime change in which Mitch Grubic, a progressive member of the village had taken control of the village in the annual election. In this transcript Dave speaks clearly about what's wrong, possible solutions and certain goals. The way he describes things, activism was on the rise, morale was high and people were optimistic. He was optimistic. By the end of this dissertation, two years hence, all of these problems and all of these possible solutions will remain intact, but unchanged, even though the critique remains salient. We are going to understand that this is because of the way the village democracy works against progressive critiques in their liminal stages, by producing factions that suppress the action. This tendency we will discover is about power. People who have found personal power in the village, doubt they could feel that way outside of it, so I argue this is why they resist the progressive changes proposed by Dave and others. The kinds of changes David and other activist members propose would rout the power base of villagers who have a certain control over the village because of their leadership in

factions. Rather than move into directions that could help the villagers get sober and skilled, and move beyond the current limits of the village, towards its sustainable and democratic vision, these factions prefer this empowerment because it is immediately gratifying to them. And because of this state of affairs, people are dying. Villagers who are intimidated by the factions tow the line, and the result is this stagnant liminal space. Justifications maybe, monsieur Boltanski, but power, and domination, surely.

Dignity in Exile (2012: 124-32)

(January 2012). In the last few months Dave has sounded far more optimistic about the village. His own depression and anxiety has been somewhat alleviated by his participation in the civic life of the village. With unusual faith in the leadership, he has become the village chef and prepares communal meals for the village. And he has also become the donations officer. The distribution of food and material goods in the village had been a source of corruption and faction building in the village. I asked him why he had so dramatically changed his opinion about things.

"Well, the strategy that Mitch, Ptery and me and others had was that one of the best ways to alleviate tension in the village was to just start and provide more community meals for them, and we figured if we alleviated that anxiety for them they would start being more better behaved with one another and more civil. It's taken us three months. Remember how when food donations would come in, people would just stockpile it up and stack it up on their plates like it was free for all without thinking about anyone else? Well, now they actually wait politely in line because they know I'm making sure everyone gets their share. So we alleviated that anxiety and that has put less pressure on the council 'cause now they don't complain to council so much about things. And, you know, I have taken over donations, and the villagers have turned to me with a sense of trust because they know I am going to give them what they're fairly entitled to."

"How do you decide what fairly distributed is?"

"Well, like making sure that everyone gets fed before people start taking more than they need."

"But donations isn't just about food. It's about clothing and material things that have meaning too."

"Yeah, yup, yup, and that I am working on now too. By basically being casual and friendly about it, the villagers are beginning to trust me and my judgment about what's fair and not fair. "

"But it can't all rely on you, David. There has to be…"

"Oh, I know, I know. My strategy has been pretty much staying out of the political aspect of it, and all I been doing, I figured if they weren't listening to my political ideas, then what I could do is just lead by example and provide a good steady consistent attitude and application of principle."

"And what's the principle?"

"And it's starting to help." He didn't hear me, his earpiece on the brink again.

"What's the principle?" I asked again louder.

"Ah, fair distribution. Helping them understand finally that, look, you're going to get what you need – you might not get what you want – but we will make sure you will get what you need. And that's starting to put a lot of the conflict to bed because donations and access to things is one of the great tension spots."

"And what are the other tension spots?"

"Ah, right now, communications."

"Between people?"

"Between council. Between membership."

"But why is that? How is the council functioning if there are still communication issues?"

"Ah, it's functioning well. We had a membership meeting today and it went smooth as punch. We talked about a lot of things we wouldn't talk about before. We were voting on a couple of VIC members, issues, and we were discussing the activist activities we have been engaging in."

"So, who's participating in the activist activities?" I wanted to know because, based on their stories, I have had the sense that if more people got involved that the village will start to breathe life again.

"Ah, me, Larry – he's a new guy – Ptery, Mitch, Michelle, Brad, Chuck. About eight of us, more than double when you were here. We've been involved with the VBC, the village building convergence here in Portland."

"What does that mean?"

"Well, it develops community centers that work for people. We work with other activists who want to provide housing for people. We work with people, for example, who want to downsize their homes into smaller places, who want to live in sane living spaces, living in comfortable living spaces without leaving a huge carbon footprint."

"And how realistic is this?"

"It's very realistic. Right now the village is connecting with thousands of people. We go to the meetings and make connections. We are establishing new lines of communications with other groups and re-establishing lines of communications that were lost here over the years with other groups, and with emerging groups."

"What are the emerging groups?"

"Well, one is Rethinking Psychiatry, which is the anti-medication group which is, like, the answer for human psychiatric needs is not medication to control, it's cognitive therapy and helping people re-establish communication and their sense of place. And then there is the VBC, which we talked about, and then we are working with Paint the Pavement, that creates beautiful painted spaces for people to gather in. And then we are working with the Depave group, which is active in taking over abandoned lots and properties and removing the concrete and asphalt and replanting it with earth and trees and plants and gardens, and we are involved with R2DTOO. In fact, this weekend we are having a big barbeque and they are invited and we painted a big flower box for them."

"How are they doing down there at R2DTOO?"

"Not too bad. Of course, when I was down there two weeks ago to paint one of the doors, you know, that make up the fence, while I was painting the Dignity Village door, I saw two of the guys from there go down the street a few hundred feet and buy crack and

then just waltz back into the site with crack rocks the size of marbles. That less than impressed me."

"But that goes on in your own village, dude. What are you guys going to do about that in the village?"

"Well, we're starting to have dialogues about that. And, you know, I have been one of the leaders in talking about that and admitting my own problem. And my own culpability with that problem. You know, like Steve-O's death. We allowed that man to drink himself to death by turning a blind eye. And, as a community, we can no longer do that."

"And how in the world are you culpable in all this?"

"Well, in the past, I participated in drugs and alcohol at the village. So I am owning up to my responsibility and saying, 'Look, I know where you're at, I have been there, but there is a better way. We can fix this.' And by alleviating the tension over resources and food we're lessening their anxiety, which, you know, eventually will hopefully lessen their need for self-medication. You know, so that days are worth having rather than obliterating." Dave sounds completely convinced that this will work.

"So, the drugs don't necessarily have to be part of the picture?" A pause. Maybe, he didn't hear me again. I went on. "Well, you know, I have been arguing in my book that the drugs really aren't the big defining feature of the village. The drugs are there because people were beaten up, they went to jail, they were raped, they lost their jobs and homes, they were on the streets and that fucks you up really bad."

"Yeah, yeah," he agreed.

I added: "But the system doesn't afford them psychiatrists and doctors and barring that, since that is just another way of controlling them, the system doesn't really allow them places to live their lives independently, or to find ways to excel, so they are left haunted by all these memories with no choice but to get a quick fix. To get high. Right? Is that accurate?"

"Yeah, and then there is the fact that the drugs addict them. Once they are there. I mean, you tried kicking hard drugs. You know what it's like."

"I did."

"Yeah, right."

"It wasn't easy. I had supports. And so, so you're saying that if it became more of a community, then people might be more willing to address their drug use?"

"Absolutely. Absolutely, and we have seen people in the village start to turn away from that. You know like Melissa and TC? I was really impressed a few weeks ago when I heard they approached Outside In [a non-profit street health group] and said, 'Look, we have a methamphetamine problem and we would like some help with that.' And as more of us are doing that for ourselves, and self-directing, we are encouraging and empowering others to do the same. At their own pace. You know, ideas happen, someone acts, and then they stick to other people."

Since Dave has been so forthcoming, I decided to put it out there. "Look, you've been there twice now, and I was there. And you and I both recognize that when I was there it was in the shits, correct?"

"Right. Absolutely, absolutely."

"And why was it in the shits?"

"Well, because of the entropy that had set in," he said, as if it was crystal clear.

"So, do I have this correct? The entropy had set in because people had been impeached and the people who knew how to do things were long gone, had moved on to other things, and so it was basically—"

"Basically they voted in incompetent people. Like, well, you saw Jon Boy. You know he was the one who invited you there and he wasn't able to carry on with what he promised because his violence and drug problems got him kicked out of the village because he got violent with somebody."

"But once again, Dave, we are coming back to drugs and alcohol and I am really trying to stay away from it. Are you telling me I can't tell the story of this village without talking about drugs and alcohol?"

"I don't think you can tell the story about homelessness at all without talking about the truth about drugs and alcohol. And, you know, that's one thing I have been telling the villagers – you know I am going to tell the truth 'bout the situation whether you find it painful and uncomfortable or not – it has to be discussed. I tell them that. You know, because even though drugs and alcohol aren't the cause of most of their problems, they're the major symptoms. As much as I want to say it isn't a big deal, it is a big deal. I mean, you were there. Geez, you heard a heroin deal going on behind your own house."

"And two ODs," I added.

"And the ODs, too."

"But I see heroin deals and other drug shit where I live here in Montreal too. So what does that mean?"

"I dunno. What does that mean? Maybe those folks aren't too happy either. And not everyone here does drugs; Ptery, Mitch, me, and a bunch of others don't do it. So it doesn't have to be. You know pot and beer. That's not the issue really. And when you got there, I was in a very low state and just starting in a very difficult transition out of the fog and into my own path of recovery and you got to see just the beginning of me waking up. You know, and people see me now walking and laughing and getting things done, and I think for some of those I was in the same boat with, it says they can do it too. It gives people some hope that they can get themselves out of the shit. I mean, I am way more confident, and for the first time in years I am operating on all eight cylinders."

And it was true that the times when I had seen Dave smoking up with Brad P., or when he had disappeared with his close friend Jay to drink, had been disappointing. He'd always returned looking worse for the wear and had sounded regretful. He'd also sounded defeated and often he had remarked that it was "hard not to get too high when things were so low in the village." The most recent shakeup of the village leadership had really inspired Dave. With faith in them, he had started having faith that his own efforts at the village might bear fruit.

I had to yell again. "What other positive things are happening?"

"Well, the greenhouse is up and running, and the store is getting people motivated. But I think the activating that people like Ptery, Michelle, Larry, new Larry, and Chuck and Brad G. are doing, it really helps. They might not comprehend what we say about meetings and activist stuff, but people see the change in us and it really helps. You know, they are seeing our behavior and our action, you know, like, we are having a little meeting discussing what we are doing and we're laughing our asses off. And they are attracted to that, they want that happiness. People are willing to enter that conversation. And one conversation leads to others and…"

"So, how do you get the village back in stride?"

"Well, we have to bring other voices from the outside into the conversation. You know, we aren't really good bookkeepers or nutritionists. But there are others who are."

"From the city offices you mean?"

"From wherever. You know, a lot of other people have been homeless, too. And some who haven't can help with the problems we have. Activists and non-activists, doctors, lawyers, artists, whoever…"

"So, you have to bring outside help into the village?"

"Absolutely. And we are sort of doing that already. By reaching out to other groups, they are reaching back in."

"So, should there be other Dignity Villages, or should the government give people housing?" I asked him.

"Yes, I think yes – but I think that the activist community has to make sure that the infrastructures are set up and firmly in place. Not just leave after the place is set up. Make sure there is a transitional process for leadership set so that there is consistency in application of programs – inconsistency is one of the biggest problems for the village. People have to know how to do things before others leave."

"So, in other words, you are saying that systems of learning have to be in place so that people can learn the required behaviors and skills, so they can learn how to run the village? So, you need advocates and teachers to introduce informal processes for learning these things?"

"Yeah, yeah. That's it."

I had to ask: "So, the other question is, should the government be building more Bud Clark Commons or should it give people money to build Dignity Villages?"

"Ah, yeah, well… you know, there have been numerous ODs at the Bud Clark Commons, the police are there frequently, so I would have to say, 47 million dollars to build the Bud Clark Commons to have people go there, get arrested, die, is a bad investment. Ah… The village model offers the cheapest alternative. In an era when everyone argues about cost, they can't touch what we do. And rather than invest 47 million in a single joint in one area, why not do what the village does, you know – $200,000 start-up money. I think the point of your work as an anthropologist, as a social scientist, is to tell the story, to understand the problem, show the dialogue and to show how people communicate, where the problem is and how we can improve ourselves as people. There, did I get it? Doesn't that sound accurate?"

"I dunno, dude. I'm just trying to write this story and it's funny, you know, but I start off this book saying I don't want to focus on drugs and alcohol, but everybody, almost everybody ends up talking about drugs and alcohol – and I don't show any images of it, but we talk about it. It's in the writing and it's in the stories and I try not to show pictures of it, but what you were kind of saying is that in a way I am showing images of drug and alcohol because the village I saw and the people I met were all there, were symptomatic in some way of the drug problem. Most of them. But even the ones who don't use, because they live with those who did use and they lived in a village that was fucking suffering, were kind of reflections of the drug and alcohol use around them."

"Yeah, I mean, it shouldn't be a focus. But it is a part of the conversation. I look at the bigger picture. Your denying any aspects of the problem really doesn't help people dealing with the problems. And if the villagers and the community and the homeless

community aren't going to have an honest conversation about the drugs and alcohol, then, basically, the discussions are moot."

"Okay, Dave. Final question. The village was formed as a site of housing activism. And it was to carry the message that you seem to have finally now started to carry again. Part of this design was to ensure the villager's right to freedom of expression, shelter, and also their duties and obligations to the community and so on. And villagers were supposed to get out of the village and carry the message, correct?"

"Right!"

"So, how vital is it for its survival, for the people who live there, to become activists like you few have done again?"

"I think it is vitally important. But even if it is a tacit role, it should be a supporting role. Because not everyone is going to want to go and charge into the lion's den."

I generally see activism as an outward engagement with issues, but this puts a bit of a subtle twist on what an activist is. "So how do they support without being active?"

"By not tearing it down. By cooperating with the people that are trying to help them. You know, this place has short-term and long-term residents. Some people are here long enough to make a difference to the "cause" and others just are not. It has to be both transitional and permanent. Those who have the courage and strength to move on and find it out there should be encouraged to do so, but those that are so damaged and ruined, and just need a safe place to live out what they have left, should be encouraged to stay. I mean, we are working with other housing activists now to set up villages like this one that have different goals – some are transitional, some are migratory like camp hostels, and some would be permanent. A single village can't meet all the unique needs of everyone. You know, some of the camps could have rehab or mental health treatments in them. I can tell you none of them would cost 47 million dollars. Did you know that the safest place to be in Portland is in the village? You are 97 times more likely to be mugged, raped, broken into or injured outside of the village than anywhere else. Just saying."

"So, what's in the future for Dave?"

"Well, at this time I am very optimistic, but you know the best laid plans of mice and men. You know, at the VBC – you know, it's a group of people concerned with bringing a sense of dignity and communal living back to inner city living places, and that kind of thing, and the other night, Starhawk was speaking and she wanted to know why is it that activist communities come together, build up enthusiasm, come up with a plan, and six months to a year down the road they can't stand each other and the plan has fallen apart. And that's just from my perspective about keeping the dialogue open and then being willing to keep the conversation open because even if we don't agree on certain things we all agree on the endgame. The endgame is more camps, more alternative forms, you know like sanctuaries and healing centers and for the people who are broken down and old, just creating a little space where they can live with dignity and freedom without feeling like they are pieces of shit and throwaway people."

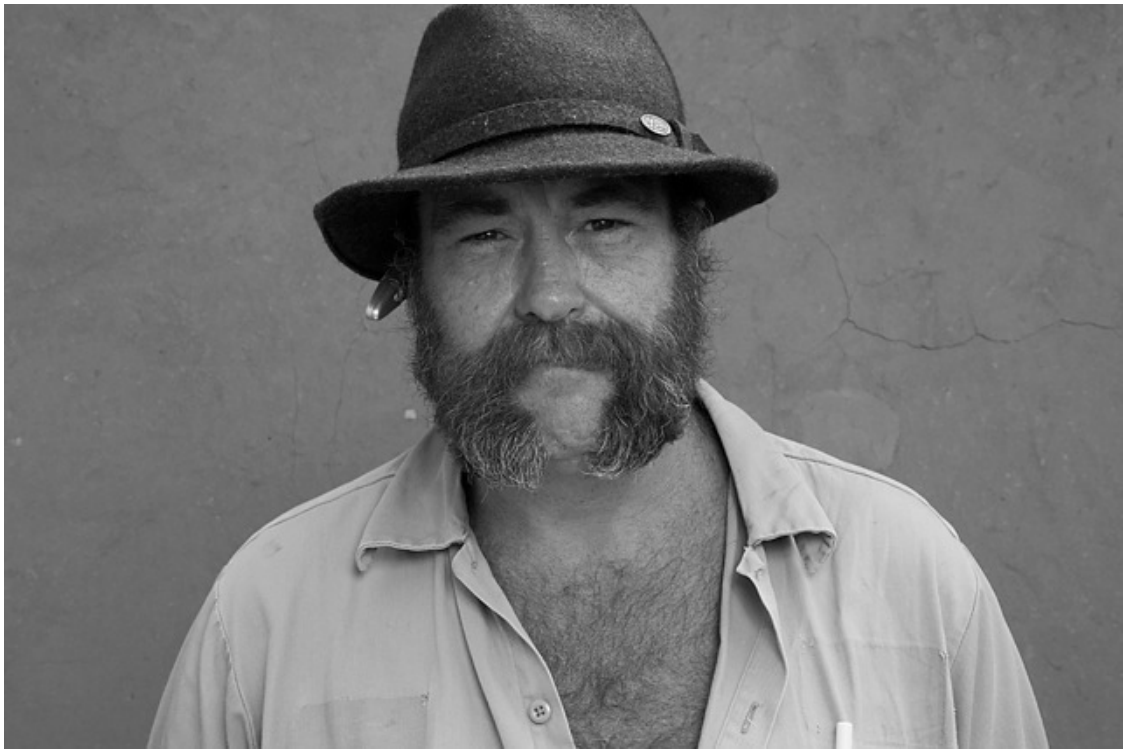


Fig. 18. Dave Samson. July 2011. (N. Dickson).

Endnotes - Chapter Five: Pages 258-370.

[1] Central to actor-network theory as the locus of mediation.

[2] Though Biesta and Stams (2001) find nothing objectionable in critical dogmatism, once the dogmatic position is clarified, dogmatic positions, are troubling for social justice where the power to assert and transform them into practice or law is asymmetrically distributed. That is to say that critique is not just something done by the less fortunate, or the social scientist/activist in the name of underrepresented principles of justice; the state, governments, educators and scientific experts for example, are also engaged in critique insomuch as their duties require assessing, evaluating and planning strategies for the care of society. As such, critical dogmatism, as a philosophical position might be valid enough; that is, one might be able to define certain positions as dogmatic, but as the application of criteria of evaluation by powerful groups over the less powerful, it is what lies at the heart of social injustice because it places oppositional critical positions of exteriority onto lived circumstances, where one position, is generally more powerful than the other.

[3] Albert (1985) argues that this dogmatism is unavoidable, largely because identifying a problem to be addressed, such as housing, for example, presumes the necessity of that address, and therein lies a dogma of sorts; the process of being critical suggests a "logical circle" in that one has "resort to statements that have already shown themselves to be in need of justification" (Biesta and Stams 2001: 61).

[4] In this sense, the individual's freedom and autonomy are to be found in the liberty to act morally, that is; to satisfy the expectations of a moral maxim perceived as a universal law (Paton, 1948: intro). Kant's Enlightenment project's goal of rationalizing democracy as a step over the bloodied and oppressive era of monarchies, therefore, gave political weight to the moral proposition that to respect one's self, means to respect others; to treat others as ends in themselves, rather than as means to an end. Once again, all men, the poor, the wealthy and all others are deserving insomuch as "I" am also deserving. Democracy is seen as a moral configuration of the right disposition of consent freely offered by the governed, to those who govern (1948: ii, 31).

Where Kant saw morality as the route to freedom, Nietzsche (2006) in particular reviled against this notion, and instead invoked a genealogy of morality, in order to understand how such dictums might come to be, and further how the freedom of some might be earned by the creation of an entire class of individuals to whom such noble morals were unattainable (I: 26-7). The point of this illustration is to show how concepts like morality, freedom and autonomy might reveal more about the process of knowing, of critique, than the concept itself in question. For Kant, knowledge "stands in the service of faith…faith is both metaphysical and moral, perhaps even religious: that we live in an ordered universe which our senses and our reason are fitted to investigate" (Williams, 1999:203). Hence he saw the French Revolution as an example of enlightened human spirit of awareness, in a wave of moral sympathy towards the end of absolutism. Kant was quite secure in the progressive and emancipatory trajectory of his Enlightenment project. Nietzsche, though he wrote much later, looked at events in Europe and was dubious of these progressive and critical changes. For Nietzsche the moral collapse of Europe was made "all the more ominous by the progress of scientific knowledge" (ibid; Nietzsche, 2006 I:33: Nietzsche, (1996). *On the Genealogy of Morals - a Polemic. Oxford University Press, Oxford.*

[5] Critique in the Frankfurt School is a means of exposing, unearthing and disclosing the possibility of other forms of reality. Hence, it is not about whether "truth" is possible, it is that *the truth* about where normative beliefs come from should be understood and this means looking at a person in the entirety of their specific cultural experience. Hence critical theory is essentially dogmatic even while it speaks of transcendence; its concern is with revealing and unbalancing embedded universal mechanisms of capitalist domination that produce truths that oppress and restrain the formation of political subjectivities under an "ultimate" truth. Honneth (2000 in Delanty, 2008) has referred to it as "disclosing critique." This new information cannot merely be supported by argumentative justification, but must have empirical derivations and productions to induce a shift in how the normative truth is understood in society

[6] In *Of Grammatology* (1967), Jacques Derrida introduces his idea of *deconstructionism*. Deconstructionism does not seek transcendence out of the reflexive paradox. Instead, he submits, that we remain within the "paradoxical terrain in order to explore its critical potential" (Biesta and Stams 2001: 66; Derrida 1973: 3-6). Deconstruction is a condemnation of transcendental critique because it instructs that one can never escape the ambiguity that description, explanation or even the most openly reflexive style of ethnographic storytelling as an example might proffer. Furthermore, Derrida suggest that all knowledge is to some degree metaphysical since it inheres presumption of the existence of "terms" in some manner, somewhere; his deconstructionism, therefore is not a critique in the Kantian sense that is as an opposite of dogmatism. Since it relies on language, and language relies on signifieds finding meaning through superior signifiers, then knowledge is fundamentally metaphysical; facticity is meaningful as things relate to superior external modes of reference (Derrida 1995: 54; 1996:87) .

[7] In his concept of *différence*, Derrida builds on Saussure's (1993) seminal work on language and argues that the elements of language are meaningless on their own and find relevance only in so much that they make reference to one another in *the structure* of language. For Derrida then, presence, is not determined by a term (or a person's) merely existing somewhere, but by its (her) relation to others of its kind in a sort of structure. The present therefore is not a positive value, measured in concreteness, but something determined by a relationship of terms without positive value in themselves.

Without exploring the complicated logic that it entails, let me argue simply that this relationship of elements, if we can understand ideas, expressed values and persons as types of elements in corresponding structures of kind, has implications for understanding social justice. The reason this is so, is that from the point of view of deconstruction, no element has meaning except in the way it distinguishes itself in the relationship of différrance to another—that is by only finding meaning though the relationship of its form, or its potential meaning, only though imbrication with other elements that confirm that value and thereby confirmed in their role as superior and exterior to the signified element. The injustice suffered by one element must in some way result from its correlation with another element that makes that injustice, makes it knowable. In the sense that an element must present itself in a dualistic nature, as a non-present object, and as an "other" in reference to other "non-present elements" it can only substantiate the present by asserting its exclusion from it, other than through the "act of signing" that confirms its own exclusion. "What is excluded thereby, returns to sign the act of its own exclusion" (Biesta and Stams 2001: 66). Deconstruction affirms what is excluded and forgotten.

[8] I speak to this in chapter six.

[9] Mistrovic (2005) offers a good rendition of Bourdieu's critique of neoliberalism.

[10] Under the seminal work and influence of Roy Bhaskar (1975, 1993), critical realism links to Marxism by aligning the idea of reality within two dimensions: an

intransitive form that exists beyond one's knowledge of it, and a socially constructed world known through, work, science, education and observable experience. Marxist theories of domination, critical theory as an example, tend to isolate critique in the ideological discrepancies this dualism creates for dominant and alienated classes (Sayer, 2000).

[11] Because perception is a weak guide, both the actual and the empirical are doubtful sources of information about reality because seeing products does little to explain the mechanisms that produce them. It is through mechanisms that things have effect and empirical quality. To put it another way, the only universal knowledge one can presume about mechanisms as aspects of social structure is that they are never universal; social structures unlike natural structures do not exist outside of the activities they govern. Social structures unlike natural structures only exist insomuch as they are perceived of by agents as part of an activity. Social structures are often temporary, and the activities they support time limited, so they cannot be presumed to be universal or enduring, or objectively true at all times (Sayer 2000:11-16; Bhaskar 1998; Archer 1998). This framing gives structures efficacy, but does not establish a hierarchy of structures nor does it priorize the role of specific structures in having universal effects on populations, at least not in theoretically presumed manners; ideological structures do not always exploit people; communicative structures do not always express or revolve in normative axes.

In linking the three spheres of the social world, critical realism affords the interiority of the agent a certain primacy in an ontological computing of what the consequences of a proposed action might be. As such, the linking of one mechanism to another is difficult to predict, but the linkages are presumed to exist between mechanisms. At a general level then, critical realism differs from the critical theory of the Frankfurt school because it is less concerned with a moral-normative theory of society. Critical realism looks for explanations that exist or emerge out of the relationship between layers of reality that are polymorphic and fluid, because they are based on a variable set of mechanisms that link people in effective ways. The key to realist critique then is its capacity to demonstrate the mechanisms that give these links their consequential value for actors.

[12] Despite Latour's rejection of a basic objective structure, which I too find problematic with CR, the interconnectedness of persons and things is especially strong in both approaches.

[13] Archer did this by analyzing over 500 conversations with respondents, where she identified classes of conversation that indicated degrees of reflexive engagement with structural experiences and sense of being. These modes of reflexivity are found in four types of internal conversation that are very important for the work at hand:

1. Communicative reflexives: people whose narratives or ideas need to be rejoined or completed by others before they turn into action.
2. Autonomous reflexives – people act on their own ideas without confirmation.
3. Meta-reflexives – people who are reflexively critical of their own ideas, and socially critical about effective action

4. Fractured-reflexives – people who cannot conduct purposeful internal conversations and go around in ever-increasing circles of disorientation.

(2003 –Dr. Archer's homepage: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/sociology/staff/emeritus/archer/msarcher/research/latest/.)

[14] Delanty (2011:81) It is not my intention to defend deconstruction against genealogy except to say that Schrift does a good job of showing how the methods of Derrida, Nietzsche and Foucault deconstruct binary assumption by way to rethink the way truth is manufactured in language, discourse and text.

[15] Gutting, G. (2011) some of this is obvious, each working with and then against structuralist issues, each unraveling language and meaning in signifiers and signifieds, or in discursive strategies' archeology as a form of deconstructive exercise, and so on. For my purposes that they each want to expose or understand that truth is not immanent but produced by relations of subjects or ideas to one another, and is therefore about effect, différrance or power is what maters.

[16] Foucault first uses genealogy in *Discipline and Punish* (1975) as a means of overcoming this analytic incapacity. Genealogy is intended to overcome the allegedly causal or rationally inevitable outcomes of historical orders of events, and instead reveal the highly historically contingent nature of systems of thought.

[17] Foucault's neoliberalism differs from traditional uses; it is more than what economists look at as reactivation of old classical theories; more than sociology's way of explaining how market relations take prominence in society; and more than political science's tendency to view the extending of the administrative acumen of the state (Foucault 2008:130).

[18] Hence in the parlance of economics and political debate, workers become defined not only by the value of their labour, but by the knowledge that they increase their value through hard work, education, training and developing economic capital. A new conduct of conduct becomes infused with the values of the economy above other moral considerations.

[19] Based on Foucault's 1978-79 lectures at the College de France, and published later in *Birth of Biopolitics* (2008) governmentality is revisited, as part of his ongoing corpus of analysis about relationships of power, political economy and systems of governance. As such, it is possible to link this and his later work (1991) on governmentality to the 1975-6 lectures series published as *Society Must BE Defended* (2003[1975]) in which he demonstrates power in terms of myriad relations of force, which are encoded and reconstituted as biopolitics. Important themes run throughout his work that have implications for understanding homelessness and shantytowns; among these power, knowledge, freedom, autonomy and subject are most relevant.

In *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of The Prison,* (1977), Foucault extrapolates largely from French case-history into broader ranges of global experience with crime and the penal system. This seminal work examines how the primary problem for pre-capitalist monarchies was to legitimize territorial and moral sovereignty through violence or its promise. The apparatus of governance that evolve around this new economic society sees the separation of the monarchy from the state, and, also, of religion from the state; the care of the population and its discipline increasingly became the ground of rationalization within states and governments whose emphasis was to undergird economic systems by creating knowledge about and systems for managing populations. No longer wrapped up in the preservation of the sovereign, the state's sole purpose was to develop and execute expertise in ascertaining the dimensions of its territorial populations, and methods for insuring the health of the economy. Matters of justice and discipline become rationalized along with all other areas of private and civic life as matters pertaining to economic function and the general well being of society.

[20] Under sovereign power, however, economic and demographic growth occurs. That disciplinary power should emerge from within the frame of sovereignty is therefore understandable in the sense that the problem of discipline remains, even if it is now a specialized function of the state.

[21] One can see immediate linkages with the work of Mead (1934), Berger and Luckmann (1966), in the sense that governmentality sets out certain possibilities for social realities and relations with them, though which individuals can determine their worth and their normalcy in terms of having good government. Less a psychological impulse than a social response, enacted through behaviours, conduct suggests something essential to relations rather than merely awareness.

[22] This manipulation of freedom to disguise domination and "unfairness" is precisely why I have called the villagers' choice to self-govern in poverty a certain kind of evil. It is the kind of duping, or chicanery that neoliberalism must produce in order to sustain a political and economic system that is riddled with contradiction. I cannot argue what a better state of affairs would be in the general sense, but I can argue that fighting for poor spaces on which to survive, seems to me at least, to be testimony to the success of governmentality to reproduce rather than challenge fundamental flaws in neoliberal society.

[23] See item 16.

[24] Rose further suggests taking the Foucauldian project as a guide only, that a genealogy of freedom, rather than of politics or of government would be an auspicious undertaking, for in the measure of freedom, there is truth about the discourses and agency, and about the ideologies and structures and institutions that produce it. Understanding what freedom means, might lead one to an archeology of its conditions, and further to an understanding of what people do in the name of that freedom.

[25] It is essentially the question of what constitutes an activist versus an active citizen.

[26] It should be noted that First Step To Homes, the program in question, does not restrict any personal liberties in the housing units. They are self-contained apartments and governed by the broader tenancy by-laws of Metro Toronto.

[27] Critique in the form of accusations and disputes are based on the description of the situation in terms of understandings of common good. The Dignity homeless and the street activists share an understanding that homelessness is bad, but the Dignity poor are increasingly understanding their "commonness" as conventional, not street, and this is hard to see from the pragmatic lens alone.

Chapter Six: Framing Deserving and Undeserving Spaces.

6.1 Introduction

There simply are too many people on the streets of all major North American cities; the criminalization of squatting and camping does nothing to remedy the need for shelter (National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty 2009, 2011).[1] According to the Western Regional Advocacy Project or WRAP, current recognition of the negative function of the assault on urban homelessness is due in part to the inertia of attitudes expressed and formalized by UNESCO and UN-HABITAT conventions on "The Right To The City" that draw on Lefebvre's (1968) call towards "a transformed and renewed access to urban life" (WRAP [Roy] 2008; Lefebvre 1974:158). Accordingly, the dominant lens sported by social justice critiques for looking at issues of homelessness sees the claims of homeless activists as not just based on the very real need for physical spaces to house poor people, but as an indictment of capitalist tendencies to appraise the value of city space as a commodity more precious than the well-being of the worst off. As David Harvey suggests, "We live in a world in which the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of rights" (2008:13). In conveying an epistemic and moral shift in disposition from civil to human rights governing space, accumulation and transformative social processes, he argues:

> The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (ibid).

Shifting public and state attitudes towards tent camps and shanty communities in a few cities are in this sense a sort of recognition that shelter is a human right, even if laws and regulations that constrain civil action, and the harsh inequalities endemic to late capitalism, might place impossible limits on securing this basic need for the poorest among us. Combined with the dictums for a shift from rights-based approaches to basic needs-based approaches in international, national and local grass roots activist communities like WRAP, is the expectation that the state understands the very dangerous and unstable systemic effects of having large populations living in a psychological state of social and cultural marginality - "an absence of belonging" (Hopper and Baumhol 1996:3).

Urban value systems have come to imagine homelessness differently – we now understand that the system, not people are broken and in this chapter I will explain why this is so. Yet, the transcripts I present here, and the many hours of conversations I had with villagers suggest that villagers understand themselves in various measures of deserving and undeserving, and that these critiques of the self, originate in broader experiences of meaning. If we can theorize deserving and undeserving as a certain measure of a citizen worthy of membership, and one not yet "deserving" of such rights and freedoms, then the Dignity villagers represent a certain impossibility in the sense that while in the village they have some relevance, some sense of whom they are in relation to others, but outside of the gate they seem ambiguous and ill-defined. This is why some of the members cling to the power that factions give them in the village, rather than work towards a sense of place in conventional communities. If the Dignity homeless reside in a liminal experience between the streets and housing, can we think of the village as a

liminal kind of space; that is a space designed to manage the anti-structural threat of homeless? In order to answer this, we have to understand the historical way that space has become privileged in the US, and the way deserving categories of poverty have come to be understood today.

In this chapter, the first thing I do is refresh the reader as to why an historical frame helps me to understand the village as a liminal critical site. I then offer a very tight erudition of the history of homelessness as a major political issue in the US since colonial times paying attention to the transfer of early English Poor laws and addressing how attitudes towards vagrants were adapted to the colonies. From that time onward, tolerance of the poor tends to increase when economies fail or war displaces warriors and families into poverty. I trace the history of federal state and local responses to poverty to the powerful debates that adjoined major displacements of people from the economy. I trace current federally sponsored Ten-Year Plans to End Housing that cities like Portland must adopt to secure funding, to their roots in Pathways to Housing (1992).

Intentional community alternatives to the streets and to overburdened hostels or housing programs make sense given that certain criteria are met. What are these criteria; more specifically what were these criteria in the case of Dignity Village? In that case, constitutional rights to shelter were granted on the basis that the village would meet the criteria laid out in copious agreements and contracts with the city. I then explain the unique constellations of events and actors surrounding the claim made by Dignity activists in 2000-2001. The action itself was as divisive as it was cohesive – radical activist elements splintered off while less radical people moved into the village. The critiques and justifications used by claimants, supporters and those opposed to the claim

provide a certain subtext for a reunification of this analysis with governmentality, but only so as to point out certain limitations. I introduce Dean's (2010) analytics of government, which is a method for "doing" governmentality studies, as a way of interrogating how the city's rationalization of Firstspace and Secondspace qualities of the village provides a certain conjunctural frame that requires other critical approaches to make sense of the ethnographic material about the village. Life on paper and in plans, even in signed agreements, is a different experience than life on the grounds. Simply put, the extreme lengths undertaken to officially rationalize life in the village reads like a technology in the Foucauldian sense, but seems wanting in a place where totally irrational and ad hoc actions have led to such a crisis of community. I use this gap as a segue into an interpretive and general discussion of spatial critiques and liminality in chapter seven.

6.2 The Poor and Poor Space in Historical Perspective

Wright (1997, 2003) has suggested that control over urban space is an highly political creation, as a means by which the powerful render the poor invisible. Out of sight, out of mind. All is good. The system works (1997:40). A function of municipal government is to ensure that those with no regular "home" are installed in shelters, "in their place," a spatial discourse mandated by hegemony, impregnated in the symbolic imaginary of the neocapitalist city. The patriarchal gaze, the framing of the "unhousable" as "outcast" is a symbolic mediation of the limits of material wealth with the contradictions of the moral that at once underpin and are reproduced by the hegemonic social imaginary in the capitalist city. I have discussed the streets and the various other "programs" for the poor as the conventional imaginary's depots for failure.

Castoriadis (1987) suggests that the symbolic value of, for example, outcasting the poor, or sending the police in to evict squatters has some value for the "city" as a "system of signifieds". The meaning of these actions, the symbolic value is rarely arbitrary, "but "fixed" through *social practice* which serves to reinforce economic, political and cultural power operating through daily life" (in Wright 1997:43). Given that various symbolic and value systems condition the points of views that underpin relationships and social practices, it is still difficult to understand how relationships that generate domination and submission of the homeless person come to be tolerated, if not normalized, in current neoliberal cities. Tolerance, following Wendy Brown (2009) is something learned; the tolerance expressed under neoliberalism results from clear mediations over time of religious moral and ethical considerations anchored in western patriarchal anticipation of the problem of the "other." As such tolerance, and other guiding civic principles are implanted in symbolic imaginaries through regimes of knowledge and power over time. Where many urbanites look at tolerance as a gift, as a sign of "progress" and civilized society, Brown has shown that tolerance falls short of embracing the difference of the other, because the fundamental categorization between "us" and them remains. [2]

Wright has argued:

> Therefore the organization of societies, of race, ethnic, gender, and class configurations, of social-physical space and temporal organization, is not conducted strictly along biological or chemical lines, or by the logic of reason, or by the materialist logic of capital development, but are the by products of the organization of fantasies, of the working of the social imaginary in a dialectical relationship with the material world. A social world comprised of vast social inequalities will produce different fantasies of "normality", struggle, resistance, and domination than a world in which social inequality is abolished" (1997:44).

The historical record will show that an important part of the social world of the homeless is that their world is linked within systems of signification within "ideological"

and actual spaces that according to the rules of neoliberalism and hegemony, discredits and marginalizes them. Wright suggests that it is the operation of the dominant social imaginary on usually unknowing participants, (citizens, members of the mainstream and so on, even the homeless) that questions like "who are we?" arise, and also that identification of the *other* takes place. The formation of imaginary categories of *deserving* and *undeserving*, such as the undeserving poor, must be understood as resulting from social practices within a social and physical space. This social space to draw on Bourdieu (1958, 1972) is the lived field into which policy and law work to shape the conduct of individuals through culturally and scientifically approved modes of behaviour or *habitus*, that manifest in the somatic experience of social practices and cultural symbols.

While capitalist urban economies have been in decline, the homeless poor, no longer fit into the economy as cheap day labour, and their primary problem has been reframed as one of an inability to self-govern, rather than as a reflection of economic dysfunction. In a Lefebvrian city, hegemony, or one might argue "the state", under neoliberalism, intentionally creates spaces for failed classes as well. Such space has been looked at in the sense of a negative "place." Gary McDonogh (1993:13) argues that lots, fields left fallow, underdeveloped areas or buildings awaiting use are signs of the ambiguous presence of power in the city. These liminal "no man lands" become ill defined as types of space, and the relations they are meant to support do not situate easily in the neocapitalist space that Lefebvre discusses. Empty urban space is generally presumed to be a negative thing, a source of potential conflict, and so the "places", the laneways, the bridge, the derelict building, all the "points" in this clandestine space,

become the sites of negative discourse and so too become their inhabitants, homeless people. As negative as such places are, the repetition of this ambiguity through successive generations of experience normalizes them for both those who must seek shelter there, and to a conventional symbolic imaginary that has come to expect such usage by flawed poor people. Capitalism wants extreme poverty to be understood as clandestine and dangerous. It wants citizens to work, consume and differentiate others according to principles that reinforce its domination of space and spatializations.

Lefebvre asserts that each regime creates a space of its own, but indeed, it must also be true, since inequality is equally universal to capitalism, that analysis of capitalist hegemonic space must include the negative places, the rundown ramshackle abodes where the poorest and worst off cases live.[3] For all their skyscrapers then, a critique of cities under hegemony of neoliberalism demands that we look for the negative spaces that capital leaves in its wake as a repository for those marginalized. The street being a non-descript largely un-built place is not finite or bounded in the sense that a room or a building might be. Most often the "street" is written about as the unused, discarded and unintended places within the city (my definition but see also Bourgois 2002, 2008; Weissman 2012; Wagner 1993). The street also has come to include all places that a *homeless* person who has no address might use in the *course* of their homelessness.[4] When I use the term "the streets" it is with regards to this continuum of impermanent and often illegal shelter.

The streets are hard to think of as a bounded Cartesian space, or as a comprehensible *mental space*; it remains largely incomprehensible that is until its residents begin to claim it for their own. It is only then that the attenuated ambiguity of

street life, its existence as a loosely wrapped parcel with unidentifiable contents, *people* in extreme poverty, can be seen as part of a discourse on citizenship, or as an indictment of conventional social relations, one that unites homeless people in a community of others, a threatening community in the liminal stage of becoming conventionalized. One of the threats to conventional imaginaries is the idea that there can be anything normal about the street life; and beyond that, in a village of homeless people. Dignity Village was constructed out of recovered buildings, on recovered land, and was occupied by people recovering from homelessness.

To borrow Lefebvre' language again, the shantytown's potential to go beyond being a mere "parcel with various contents" (1971:27) must be understood as something completely different than life on the streets. The streets are not a parcel with various contents, but a different kind of arrangement of places within a spatial discourse. Neoliberal hegemonies tolerate the streets and street life, indeed , they have created this space for the failed urban citizen, but they generally do not tolerate the spatialization of this negative reality in a bounded, cohesive, non-mediated community like tent camps and squats. Abstract notions of space that impose critical qualities onto a type or category of space, eliminate the key factor to understanding what space is, its lived and social quality, by taking the actor out of the imagining. Any negative interpretation of the shantytown is really a means of "transferring the etymological sequences" out of the hands of people who need and create that space, and delivering them once again into abstract ideals about appropriate relations within certain kinds of limited social space (4-5).

In this sense the "street" one encounters today is part of the historical tradition of the capitalist abstraction of idealized space through the implementation of welfare and housing policy, and the limits these ideals impose on the marginalized to find a sense of place by establishing affiliations. If not explicitly constructed for the purpose of warehousing the villains and failures, the street fulfills that role because of a series of historical mediations of representational spaces, which go back to the first cities, mediations which have confronted the symbolic with the rational (Lefebvre 1991:231). Lefebvre says, "even today urban space appears in two lights; on the one hand it is replete with places which are holy or damned, devoted to the male principle or the female, [the street or the household] rich in fantasies and phantasmagorias; on the other hand it is rational and bureaucratic…" (231 [my words added]). To be very simplistic, living in a home, a conventional housing unit, is part of the hegemonic understanding of how citizens ought to live; those who fall through the cracks, either live on the streets in ambiguity, or in establishments that hegemony maintains as repositories for the management of problem populations in the form of shelters, hostels and prisons.

Beyond the streets, therefore, hegemony countenances certain constructed spaces; hostels, shelters, prisons, and housing programs, for the management of the very poor. In creating the myth of an underserving flawed homeless person, the relations of production that produce this poverty, or the underlying mental and physical conditions that correlate strongly with this, hegemony eschews responsibility, but appears as a reflexive and capable way of shaping the social world. Suspended in marginality, somewhere between the streets, a course of spaces notoriously understood as sites of death, disease, and starvation, and the impossibility of finding conventional housing, are millions of people

in North American cities who struggle with the exigencies of daily life. At times in the history of the United States, such people were granted the privilege of living in intentional communities of squalor called shantytowns.

It is necessary to think of homelessness not only as a lived and performed variable experience for actors who had found their own unique ways into homelessness, a unique historicity one might say, but also as something that results from spatial and ideological detachment from an imaginary centre that tends to confirm this marginality by creating the circumstances into which the homeless are routed. In the case of late capitalism, under neoliberalism, the politics of shifting economic fortunes create certain acceptable imaginings of how poverty should be experienced, where the homeless should endure. As we will see, beyond creating economic inequality, power concentrated in ideological and knowledge centers creates ideas about spatial imaginaries – attitudes towards the proper space for the performance of poverty, commerce, public events and private life. This is very much how the problem of homelessness has been rationalized and conditioned by US states and governments since the American colonies emerged in the 17th century.

In all definitional categories of homelessness, "degree" of homelessness is measured against two primary measures of "normal" life; how far in terms of actual living modes from a secured self-contained and owned home is the homeless individual; how have the poor choices and other characterological defects of the individual contributed to this loss of housing (Bahr 1973; Marcuse 1983, 1990; Jackson 1985; Caton 1990; Gans 1991; Wright 2000). The problem with homelessness is so severe currently that even renting an apartment or a home is increasingly understood as more and more difficult for urban citizens; a major portion of current housing funding is used to

supplement rents, on inadequate structures, rather than to finance owned homes or to build transitional housing for the chronically homeless. Being marginal then implies two vectors of differentiation; the first isolates the homeless person in terms of the material space they occupy (Firstspace) (or rather don't) and the second looks at how the mental or psychic space (Secondspace) of the individual differs from accepted norms.

In the Foucauldian sense of it, this difference amounts to an evaluation of the degree to which individuals can be said to have good government, or to be a self-governed citizen. The condition of homelessness has historically been presented by neoliberal regimes of government as a result of the attributes of poor self-government. Over the last 100 years or so, the state and poverty care organizations have done a good job of linking the former to the latter by creating the image of the marginalized homeless defective character. The avatar of this abject poverty is the "street person," and the human condition of this life is perceived as ambiguous and undesirable. I earlier discussed the common perception of poverty as a certain powerlessness. I have been developing the idea that it is precisely the struggle that homeless activists are engaged in, as an attempt to secure their intentional community that empowers them, and hems them in; their resistance creates resistance in the conventional imaginary. If they are to be free, they will have to be governed; that is how democracy works. Those villagers who sense an opportunity to be powerful in the village, will resort to many lengths to get that. That is the fundamental basis of factions, the empowerment it provides a few, and it is the essence of democracies internal logical contradictions. It is in this power struggle that Dignity Villagers come to understand the limits to structural and symbolic inequality that laws and housing strategies impose on the village, and that the village imposes on its

failures and weaker members. While some villagers see their demise as a sort of limbo, others see opportunities to fight for more rights. Inequality yes, but empowerment as well.

How can this be? One of the first spatializations of empowerment for homeless people is the occupation of urban spaces. The state has done a good job over the last 400 years in the United States as it has in most of the capitalist world, of diminishing this empowerment by doing two key things associated with policy; states have introduced laws governing the proper use of livable space by all inhabitants, and they have crafted a classic binary between deserving and undeserving poor. In this general framework, the deserving poor receive some kind of charitable or subsidized welfare or housing benefit from the community, and the undeserving are cast off into a space created for failure, the streets, as a vivid reminder to the mainstream of what failure means. Viewed in terms of a perpetually liminal and ambiguous existence, the chronically homeless and street engaged are perceived of in their dark and dangerous, perhaps sometimes, pathetic, qualities. I will trace this historically, but in the contemporary neoliberal frame where poverty in the United States is incomprehensible without recognizing how global processes like outsourcing have led to lost incomes, and how Global Occupy movements have called into question the legitimacy of out-casting the poor, the streets of western cities and those who live there remain physical and mental spaces that are comprehended as failure, abandonment and powerlessness to be avoided at all costs. States and urban imaginaries are loathe to deem tent camps, legal or not, to be part of their official strategies to end homelessness. Even when they grant such places contracts and tenure as transitional camps, these uses remain off the long term planning strategies and

rationalized to a dubious public as experiments. The liminality of these spaces is partly categorical in that these places officially exist as a part of governance precisely as experiments with undetermined value, and partly circumstantial; the abject poverty of such places strains the capacity of democratic self-rule to meet the critical needs of residents.

Carol Caton (1990) wrote that by the end of the 1980's, homelessness in America had become the subject of numerous articles and books and finally "gnawed at our collective conscience" (preface). Identifying the need for national and local housing policies to address homelessness, Caton's volume brought together the works of various scholars, Marcuse, and Hopper's most notably, in an attempt to outline the grand scale of homelessness in the 1980's so that policy directions might more accurately address the problem. Despite a heavy concentration on the problem of homelessness by scholars, governments, activists and the homeless themselves over the last 30 years, the situation is worse than it was in 1990. I have already established some figures; over 47 million people living in poverty, and nearly 1% of these or close to 4 million persons experiencing some form of homelessness (HUD 2010-12; NAEH 2011; Weissman 2012). In 2010, President Obama introduced ambitious plans to wipe out family and child homelessness within ten years and to eradicate chronic homelessness and homelessness among veterans in five (HUD 2010, 2011:12). The measures included in this national framework are a response to the recognition that society has failed to prop up those who have served, those who deserve better (children and young families), and those who are trapped within a perpetual cycle of chronic poverty, often because of mental illness or disability, and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (ibid). [5]

As a shift in attitude of sorts, the latest federal policy is a clear statement that according to the Obama administration at least, the poor are increasingly more deserving than they have been understood in the past. Titled "Opening Doors," the federal plan calls for a strategic alliance between federal, state and local service providers to increase access to supportive housing facilities and rapid rehousing for the chronically homeless, and financial and employment assistance for families in jeopardy of losing their housing. It is somewhere within the emerging power and service structures that are being created by this challenge that Dignity Village currently must define and prove itself. The village therefore has two important historical dimensions that frame an understanding of how people live there. First, there is the period of national and local housing policies and attitudes towards the poor that conditioned the critical action of homeless activists in making the claim, Dignity Village, a spatial and social reality in 2001. Second, there are the ongoing shifting categories of service and regulatory edicts that trickle from federal to local levels of governance and mitigate the legal and practical responsibilities of the village and villagers at various times during the period since it was founded, and which constitutes the time-span through which this research was undertaken.

I flesh out the relationship between some important periodic shifts in mainstream and official state attitudes towards the distinction between *deserving* and *undeserving* poor and towards the proper use of urban space that began with New World colonies, in order to link current national housing programs with political and economic structures, and mental categories in which homelessness is embedded, and in which the responses by the homeless engaged in critical action, such as Dignity Village can be analyzed.

I am particularly concerned here with revealing how deserving and undeserving categories of the poor are understood, represented and treated in policies that affect welfare, poverty and housing, and how these have created particular urban spaces for the worst off poor. Dignity's crisis of community when finally deconstructed can be understood by the way the village's critical action fits into these categories - even if activists do not realize it - they organize themselves and their goals on the basis of what they think they deserve and what they think is achievable; it's a pragmatic rather than a normative problem, because we know what's right, but knowing how to get it is problematic.

6.3 History *per se*

Snow and Andersen (1993) have called *street poverty*, the most visible example of chronic homelessness, a sort of historical and cultural universal. Biblical references to the beggar and to the poor are common; a search of references to poverty and homelessness from the King James, New Testament resulted in over 2000 verses that reflect on the condition of poverty and the advocacy of neighbours in the care of the poor (LAMPA website; the Official King James Bible Online; Democratic Underground.com).[6] I take such references to be evidence of the pervasive problem of extreme poverty at least in the value systems of early civilizations, if not as a sort of empirical evidence of the scope of the problem throughout all recorded time. More importantly these citations give evidence of the linkage between ethical treatment of the poor as the essence of charity, public policy and civic morality. Furthermore, one must understand that in Europe during the middle ages well into the 19th century, attitudes

towards the poor were driven by the central role that churches and parishes played in caring for the needy.

As Snow and Anderson suggest, English folk traditions steeped in this religious ferment, had two mitigating effects on the experience of poverty in pre-industrial Europe. First, tradition was to offer assistance to the needy. Second, was a certain esteem for the poor, a sense of noble depravation, in which poverty was idealized and the liminality of the poor understood as a morally transcendental experience (1993:10-11). Under the influence of the Franciscans, "It was an age of considerable charity towards the destitute" (ibid). Rather than being devalued on the basis of marginality or failure, the poor were reified in ways that rarely distinguished between deserving or undeserving, except in cases of criminality or intemperament. Snow and Anderson suggest that during the Renaissance, growing interest amongst humanists in mundane activity and material success undermined the valuation of poverty. The out-casting of the poor was catalyzed during the Black Death in 1348, which imposed a sense of urgency to control "floating populations" and unhygienic masses of poor people flocking to towns and villages. England's first vagrancy law appears in 1349. From this time on according to Chambliss (1964) and Foote (1956) (in Snow and Anderson 1997), vagrancy would be cross-associated with homelessness, under the laws, and hence referred to *as a lack of housing and no means of support*; this becomes an important distinction later in our discussion of hobos and modern homelessness.

In 1388 English Law required that homeless wanderers, meaning unhoused, un-propertied laborers, scholars and religious figures secure a letter from town officials permitting their travel, else they be imprisoned for vagrancy (Wallace 1985:4 in Caton

1990:4). These measures were designed to ensure that feudal enclosures had sufficient labor and at sufficiently low cost to remain solvent. As such the laws were designed strictly to control the emigration of the vagabond from one locale to another in search of better wages or working conditions (Caton 1990; Snow and Anderson 1997:11). DePastino (2003) and Dean (1991) understand this tradition as an essential means of controlling the wages of poor laborer to ensure the competitiveness of producers.

Tudor Laws towards the homeless were somewhat more vicious by comparison. Whereas vagabonds and poverty had previously been associated with a certain condonable idleness, under the Tudors, the vagabond is reinvented as a criminal type (Snow and Anderson 1993:11). By 1495, Henry VII imposed the Vagabond Act outlawing wandering and loitering in places other than one's own home village.[7] During the Protestant reformation, Henry VIII separated from the Catholic Church and formed the Church of England. This action led to the closure of monasteries, the retention of church lands by the sovereign for the King's use, and the loss of that charitable support base for the poor (ibid). At the same time, large numbers of returning soldiers and agricultural labor displaced by the enclosures, flocked to the burgeoning cities seeking charity and alms no longer available in their home rural communities (Slack 1988)

By the mid 1500's the monarchy and the parliament were aligned over measures designed to deter subjects from entering homelessness. In 1547, Edward VI ordered that vagabonds were subject to imprisonment or servitude as slaves, and could be branded with the mark of a "V". Such undesirables would be taken to a local magistrate and placed with a master to work. Failure to comply resulted in banishment to colonies as slave labor or in execution (Caton 1990:4; Snow and Anderson 1997:11-12).[8] Though

the act was not rigidly enforced, the tendency to mark the poor person in terms of deserving and undeserving was by then also a determining factor in whether their homelessness was tolerable or not. In this case, the aged, the old and the infirm were considered legitimate recipients of alms and charity and tolerance, whereas, all others fell into the category of undeserving on the basis of their unwillingness to work.[9] By 1572, the poor were increasingly categorized by the monarchy, the state and local parish authorities on the bases of deserving or undeserving. A problem with poverty then is not restricted to advanced capitalism, but it might be argued, has increasingly been associated with an ideological shift amongst powerful interest groups concomitant with restrictions on land use, agricultural compartmentalization and other socio-economic changes associated with a shift towards capitalism that restrict the solvency of the very poor; an ideological shift in which the moral virtue of abject poverty is replaced with its civic criminality.[10]

It is the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 that most directly impacted the tradition of categorizing communities' responses to the homeless on the basis of deserving and undeserving. By 1601, a legacy of laws that defined the rights and duties of the homeless poor increasingly became framed in terms of whether the individual was perceived as mentally or physically deprived of the requisite ability to care for themselves, or whether they were able, but not willing to participate in the economic functions of the community in order to secure food, shelter and clothing for themselves (Caton 1987; Slack 1988; Dean 1991). The Poor Law, which lasted until 1834 in England, downloaded the responsibility for caring for deserving poor to local parishes. While the law required the taxation of wealthier citizens to pay for this care, it imposed no levy on them for care

outside of their own parish. The law was brought over to the colonies where local landowners and businessmen often responded by making it uncomfortable for the homeless poor to settle in their communities, or ensured that immigrants were solvent before settling (5). When the first wave of English immigrants came to what is now the United States in the early 1600's, they came with indentured vagrants and criminals exiled by the English government. Caton surmises that these indentured persons were probably constituents of the first homeless populations in the New World, ill equipped as they were to cope with the "harsh demands of Colonial life" (1990:5). In either case, communities developed means by which to discern the value of certain individuals based on their value to the community, if not in terms of personal solvency, then in terms of services they might provide in exchange for lodging and food, or in terms of the status they enjoyed as long time members of the community. Hence the religiously and morally inscribed obligation to care for the poor and the old through acts of charity transforms into a basic problem of dealing with economic liabilities that is effectively a civic problem with members of the community who do not fit in.[11] In cases where large agricultural or resource projects were under way, such transients became a vital aspect of the casual labor force. Their well-being and care was irregular, dependent on the ebbs and tides of production, and while they may have been provided shelter and food in exchange for their labor, when production ceased, they were most often left to begging in order to survive. Almost immediately then vagrancy and poverty accompanied the commercialization of agriculture, the rise of mercantilism and the high price of accommodations in towns and cities, in the New World as had been the case in England, and "a cadre of homeless wanderers emerged among the destitute and disabled in the

American colonies" (Deutsch 1937:39-54 in Caton 1987:5). This marks the beginning of the first "wave" of homelessness in the United States and the beginning of policies of various kinds to control homeless populations and to determine the social worth of the poor, understood as deserving or undeserving, on the basis of their capacity to self-govern.

Early colonialists had incorporated English Poor laws, which simultaneously created the local parish as the authority for dispensing with care for the poor, and forced communities to find discursive and practical means for outcasting the needy. With the growth of cities, increased commercial agriculture and rising industrialism in the late 18th century, the poorest once again become disparaged for being ineffective; in larger towns and urban centers correctional, work and almshouses begin to appear (Caton 1990). As Dean (1991) points out, it was during the late 1700's in Europe that debates about pauperism become the basis for discussions of the constitution of poverty (1991:7) and when also we can see a direct connection between the pauper as constituent of a class of labor necessary to emerging capitalism. Hence, paupers and vagabonds in the new world were increasingly jailed for their vagrancy and for trespass, and set to work side by side with the disabled, the mentally handicapped and the convicted felon in mills, commercial cultivation and other forms of essentially slave labor (Caton 1990:7; Dean 1991). In what seems like a vulgar reflection of present day workfare propositions, at the end of the colonial wave, the pauper, the able bodied mentally insane and other dependent persons were bid upon at auction and put to work in return for shelter and food (Deutsch 1937 in Caton 1987:6). Marshall (1972) argued that the treatment of pauperism inhered the

incorrect and usurious belief that poverty was necessary to progress in the economy and the state, and that work programs offered emancipation.

Dean (1991) suggests that the particular treatment of paupers in a given regime is emblematic of the general tendency of liberalism to infuse the economy with the will of a strong centralized state that works though individuals and collectives to ensure the health of the economy(6). Paupers thereby become the subject of laws governing their freedom and their movement. Hence, from roughly 1800 onward, poverty is increasingly constituted in liberal democracies as a central problem for governance and for governmentality (Foucault 1991, 1975; Dean 1991, 2010). Poverty emerges out of the 18th century as a discursive and practical consideration for states, one which ultimately rests on the implanting of normatively accepted beliefs about being deserving or undeserving in the minds of the poor themselves. While the colonies became independent of English rule, the poor were not freed from the Draconian measures that undergirded treatment of the homeless in Poor Laws.

In 1819 and 1837 economic crises in the U.S. displaced able-bodied men on a massive scale. While soup kitchens and other institutional responses to the poor had been developing in New York and other major cities since 1802, it was the combination of these two crises and then the massive displacement of men after the Civil War that created a widely held notion of a national homeless problem (Caton 1990:7; Leginski 2007; DePastino 2003). With large numbers of able bodied men who were willing to work but had to seek assistance, cities became increasingly intolerant of vagrants who became understood as idle and were represented by politicians and newspapers as alcoholic, law breakers and troublesome, and hence undeserving. The attack on the

homeless character manifested in attacks on the places the homeless would use for refuge, doorways, tunnels, forests, and abandoned structures. Many of these unemployed men travelled from city to city looking for work. It is from this tradition that the American Hobo is crafted (Anderson 1923; 1975; Ward 1979; DePastino 2003). Unlike vagrants and tramps who were penniless and idle wanderers, hobos are understood as a form of migrant worker, who very often were poor, and very often intemperate in nature. (Anderson 1923, 1975; Ward 1979; DePastino 2003). In the west, they had sought employment in the resource industries of Washington and Oregon, and when unemployed had occupied Seattle's Skid Road, a run down section of downtown Seattle where lodgings and drink were cheap (Caton 1990; Rossi 1989). By 1872, the term, "Skid Row" had been synthesized from this former usage, and was used extensively in other cities, starting with New York City, to define the area of the city, sometimes also referred to as the "main stem," where vagrants and hoboes sought refuge and association (Bahr 1968, 1973; Rossi 1989). It should be noted that skid rows have been commonly associated with densely populated urban cores (Bahr 1968, 1973; Ward 1979; Rossi 1989; Caton 1990). This is a misconception. Skid rows began as outlying communities, established in unused public lands between cities and wealthy estates.[12]

It was the expansion of the city that in most cases brought skid rows into the core urban space; as cities expanded, skid rows, flop houses and cheap bars increasingly became associated with downtown cores (ibid). In the expanding cities of an industrializing America, skid rows become difficult to tolerate within mainstream imaginaries. Isolated by poverty and the need to form alliances with other transient men, by 1873 and during yet another economic reversal, tens of thousands of homeless men

took up residence in various skid rows, the hub of their social and economic ties (Bahr 1973; Caton 1990). If not an actual threat to mainstream citizens, skid rows burgeoning with troubled and often-desperate men gave the impression of danger. With unemployment as high as 40%, no national homeless policy emerged but the Young Men's Christian Association and the Salvation Army did build hotels for the poor and encouraged their repatriation into a growing resource economy in the Western United States (Caton 1990). While police stations were increasingly used as temporary night shelters for vagrants, the majority of displaced men found themselves secreted away in abandoned or unused buildings, in the flops along skid rows or in the streets, and in the various city shelter spaces made available by municipal housing authorities, while many more rode the trains in search of casual work (DePastino 2003; Caton 1990; Leginski 2007; Riis 1902; Anderson 1923, 1975).

Whereas the homeless might have ideally looked for work, in its absence often they resorted to begging. In 1877 the New York Board of Charities advocated outlawing begging and posited jailing vagrants in work camps (Caton 1990). The Rhode Island Tramps act of 1880 is emblematic of such an official law prohibiting camping, sleeping in parks or vagrancy of any kind (ibid). Such laws opposing the settlement of hobos and vagrants were common and underscore the ban on camping in many US cities today. Another law, The Kansas Vagrancy Statute of 1889 attacked vagrants on the basis that jobs were always available and that vagrancy was tantamount to idleness. A brief period of economic soundness occurred between 1888-1892 only to be dramatically reversed on May 5 1893, on what is referred to as *Industrial Black Friday* or, the *Panic of 1893* when as many as 3 million men were suddenly unemployed during yet another dramatic failure

of the economy (Caton 1990:8). The US economy therefore is very much linked to the numbers of persons displaced from work and therefore who had become homeless.

Marcuse (1990) points out that there has always been a difficulty in defining who the homeless are, since the definitions vary across local, state and federal jurisdictions and across periods of history. The definitions tend to reflect the difference between: those who voluntarily abandon their roles in the economy: those who eschew the virtues of the model home, and those who are forced beyond their own will to abandon traditional roles either through calamity or illness (141). Furthermore, there is a tendency to define homelessness for the purposes of policy making; *shelterless*, *homeless in shelters*, *housed but imminently shelterless*, *housed but not in homes* and finally, *at risk of being homeless* are categories which Marcuse (1990:140-42) suggests follow a sort of continuum where the *shelterless* is a person living on the streets, and the *at risk* category includes anyone who might be adequately housed but is at risk of losing their residence due to illness, financial worries or loss of employment. These "types" continue to complicate definitions of homelessness. The degree to which the definition of homeless under examination is inclusive of some or all of these definitions will therefore inflate or deflate the numbers.[13] Furthermore, there is some sense that the degree to which an individual can be said to be to blamed for their poverty justifies their treatment as deserving or not.

By 1913, a new recession had led to an increase in demands on city shelters, church alms houses and had swelled the numbers of men living on skid rows – New York's famous Bowery, had as many as 75,000 men in the first half of 1915 alone (Caton 1990:9).[14] While the majority of the homeless lived in rundown rooms or in shelters,

Anderson's famous study of "hobohemia" revealed the marginal life of the hobo in urban "jungles" or shanty camps on the outskirts of town near railway junctions where they could hop freight trains and search for work as migrant laborers. Anderson found that these men started out in search of work, often with families to attend to back home, but ended up jobless and lost because they were industrially inadequate or had personality defects (Caton 1990:10; Anderson 1923, 1975). With the skids infested with homeless men, and with work hard to come by, the social ties and cliques that hobos tended to establish were best addressed in their own social organization, and hence Hobo camps became fairly common in the outlying regions of cities, even if they were frequently routed by the police in the service of expanding city cores.

Even though reliable figures of the homeless are hard to come by, it is suggested that by the time the Great Depression was mid stride, as many as 5 million Americans were homeless (Caton 1990; Reed 2008). The jungles of Hobohemia, as DePastino reminds us were not lawless and without order. Beginning with Nels Anderson's (1923) study of the American Hobo, we understand the culture of the hobo as one of ritually reinforced rites of passage and camaraderie, invested with symbols and a lexicon and regarded with high esteem by those who had come to be defined by that manner of living.

While mainstream society had looked upon Hobos as dangerous and ambiguous characters, they were cautiously recognized by the state and by industrialists for the important migrant and casual labor function they provided. By the time of the Great Depression, the hobo camps that had been seen as dens if iniquity and as ambiguous dangerous places by most mainstreamers and politicians were on the decline, but in the meantime had become understandable as common expressions of the spatialization of

poor labor. The Depression extended this need to millions of others. With nowhere else to live, hundreds of thousands of newly homeless persons slept in cars, abandoned lots, under bridges and ad hoc shantytowns frequently referred to as *Hoovervilles*.[15] Under such conditions of massive economic decline, federal state governments understood shantytowns as a legitimate but temporary response by deserving citizens to the need for shelter that had been stripped from them by circumstances beyond their control. Between 1927 and 1941, shantytowns were grudgingly embraced as inevitable manifestations of massive poverty.[16]

Without a well-endowed housing or welfare sector, tens of thousands of families became quite *literally homeless*, unsheltered with no place to sleep. For the first time in US history, the majority of the homeless were no longer intemperate transient men, but included able-bodied and motivated men, women, and children of all ages and from all ethnicities. Whereas most studies of skid row had revealed a population of mostly white men, the new poor comprised, Blacks, Whites and families, children, and single women (Bahr 1968, 1973; Caton 1990; Snow and Anderson 1993). The social structure of the homeless shifted dramatically from small groups of randomly affiliated men, to mobile collectives comprised of families and friends, and in cases, entire communities.[17] When Hoover left office in 1933, unemployment was at 25%, millions of Americans were living outside of the normal housing market, and more than 100,000 businesses had failed (Best 1991, 1993; Reed 2008).

Shantytowns popped up near Churches and missions and along city access routes from which members of families could more easily travel to find handouts of food, clothing and fuel, perhaps day labor. The structures were crude, usually fabricated from

any discarded building material, but included items like old car seats, chassis, road ductwork and culverts and even cardboard. Many people were forced to live in their cars, the image of which is impeccably recalled in Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). Hoover lost the election of 1933 to the democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt. In several places US States set up large work camps to house workers in the infrastructural work programs introduced by F.D.R.[18]

Shelter was only a part of the overall need of the population that included jump starting a dead economy, providing jobs and guaranteeing the income and safety of those for whom a return into employment or strong family lives was unlikely. As a result Roosevelt introduced two New Deals; the first in 1933 included economic regulatory measures and the second in 1935, introduced various measures to stimulate bottom up solvency.[19]. While some support was offered to help homeowners resist foreclosure, the only national policy measure was to create emergency camps and shelters for displaced persons. By the end of World War Two, under a vigorous economy, most of New Deal incentives were abandoned.[20] Today the securities regulations and social security are all that remain of the New Deals, but the Great Depression and the intervention of the state in economic and social areas of governance are referred to when looking at current issues with homelessness caused by the 2008 crisis.

By 1941, the economy had revived and the homeless population declined as many unemployed were swept up into service in the army and the laws against the shantytown mode that had been ignored in the previous decade, were vigorously executed. In cases where shantytown residents did not disband willingly, the federal government went about dismantling the shantytowns with the help of the army. The attack on shantytowns was

especially damaging to the culture of the American Hobo, which was largely eradicated as an historical form as a result of the sweeping of shantytowns and the participation of their numbers in the war effort (Ward 1979; Rossi 1989; Caton 1990; DePastino 2003).

The U.S. economy had more or less boomed since the end of World War Two. This growth would continue until the early 1970's when oil prices and high inflation once again destabilized growth. In the intervening 30 years, suburbia became the norm for middle class America, and the outlying regions of towns where shantytowns had once rooted were aggressively rezoned and developed into the now familiar suburban communities; at the same time, downtown cores increasingly became the targets of urban renewal funding, and a chronically homeless population which had tended to remain fairly constant and fixed in skid rows and slums had few places to call home (Jackson 1985:220-225; Rossi 1989:32-44; Gans 1991). By the mid 1960's their numbers had increased, while their housing options had all but disappeared, and the homeless, deserving or not, were painfully visible (Rossi 1989:33-35; Caton 1990; Marcuse 1990).[21] Urban renewal started in the forties, but had reached a certain critical mass by the mid 60's.

In 1949, President Harry Truman signed the Housing Act, which gave federal, state, and local governments 'unprecedented power to shape residential life' (Jackson 1985; Rossi 1989). Phrased, *urban redevelopment* in 1949, this act, which gave private housing contractors the right to build and manage low-income housing, was rephrased, *urban renewal* in 1954. An interesting blog sums up the main criticism of urban renewal, "One of the Housing Act's main initiatives - "urban renewal" - destroyed about 2,000 communities in the 1950s and '60's and forced more than 300,000 families from their

homes. Overall, about half of urban renewal's victims were Black, a reality that led to James Baldwin's famous quip that "urban renewal means Negro removal" (Jim Rongstad, “Preserving Freedom Blog,” October 3 2011). Jackson (1985) reviews the intent of laws and housing policy since the New Deals and concludes that "the result, if not the intent, of the public housing program of the United States was to segregate the races, to concentrate the disadvantaged in inner cities, and to reinforce the image of suburbia as a place of refuge for the problems of race, crime, and poverty” (218-219).

Jackson’s (1985) *Crabgrass Frontier: the suburbanization of the United States,* traces the roots of the suburban tradition in the United States back to the 19th century. The allocation of a privileged, clean and separate zone for wealthy living had created a uniquely American sense of what I refer to as the home myth; the belief that a detached, single family dwelling was a step in the right direction, or is *normal*.[22] Emigration of middle and upper classes to the outskirts of increasingly run down and congested cities left city cores to the poor, blue-collar laborers and the homeless. Where incentives and housing policy were directed towards building new homes for single nuclear families and expanding suburban areas, creating effective transit and road systems, fixing bridges and improving communication systems, affordable housing for the very poor as a policy consideration remained mired in the practice of letting charitable organizations and communities manage their poor, or relocating the poor into slummed out ghettoes sometimes called “projects”. Official housing strategies entering the mid 1960’s supported the practice of building high density housing for the poor understood as “affordable housing.”[23] For the poor, housing projects emerge as a sort of “counter” space to the single family suburban home. As for the homeless themselves, urban renewal had

begun to eliminate the cheap hotel, the rooming houses and the flops where they might have crashed; the attack on skid row entered a new phase, as vagrancy laws began to be more vigilantly imposed, and the poor, who were displaced and increasingly without recourse to shelter or alms, become far more visible to urban imaginaries. In the wake of redevelopment, under the towering shadows of the projects, homelessness is lost in outcries against racism and the Black - White divide.

An influential volume was Michael Harrington's *The Other America* (1962). This book exposed the widespread failure of the American way of life to meet the needs of the nation; over 25% of the population was considered poor and this despite great wealth. While it is easy to believe this perverse dichotomy today between wealth and epidemic poverty, at that time, American society largely operated under the delusion that poverty was isolated to the neat little pockets cities had created for it in the mostly black ghettoes. Harrington's work exposed the broader reality of poverty, alluded to the future implications of an uneducated and unattended large citizenry, and finally explained that the state had to assume a central role in redressing social needs on moral and practical economic grounds. Harrington influenced both Kennedy and Johnson's concern for social welfare, by suggesting a relationship between normative values for housing and security and the utter impossibility of either in poor, slummed out neighborhoods.

In pointing out that America's preoccupation with its technological and urban mastery had misdirected attention to the 40 or 50 million persons who were living in squalor, Harrington shook up the image of a morally and scientifically superior America and challenged Americans to explain how it was that the poor who were poor in 1950, were still poor: "They were poor. They still are" (1962:1). It's a challenge that could be

reiterated today.[24] By 1964, poverty in the US was at almost 20%, despite sustained economic growth, civil unrest was growing, and important social research and activist actions shed light on an increasingly difficult problem. If social welfare was not a direct boon to economic growth, then it was arguably a preventive measure in so much as it addressed the constitutionally guaranteed rights of Americans against their growing discontent and by the mid 1960's the extent to which housing policies had discriminated against the very poor became difficult to ignore. With poverty at 24%, Lyndon Johnson examined the role of state intervention through education and improved health care as a means to address poverty. The discussion was never framed in terms of the relationship between labor, and exploitative work relations, even though criticism of Johnson's vision of The Great Society from economists like Milton Freidman, expressed these interventions as harmful to the economy.[25]

In his 1964 inaugural address, Lyndon Johnson announced an (un)official War on Poverty. Johnson's vision of the *Great Society*, hinged on poverty reduction strategies that required expanding the government's role in education and health care.[26] Extension of programs aimed at helping the poor, of whom Blacks were disproportionately represented, came under fire after the Watts Riots and as the increasingly visible Black Power movement gave conservative critics of welfare fuel to argue against what was essentialized as a problem of ghettoized Blacks (Moynihan 1966; Liebow 1967). Support for the war on poverty turned to outright rejection in the Congress. As it regards housing however, Johnson's platform was extremely important; in addition to setting up extensions of funding to locally based community projects, The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was initiated under his watch. It is within this federal

Department that current national strategies are designed and implemented today. And it is within the limitations of this system, that we will understand how Dignity Village and other emergency camps find relevance.

Opponents to Welfarist positions assumed that the economy should be attended to combat poverty. Influenced by Oscar Lewis (1961, 1962, 1963) Daniel Moynihan's (1965) *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, concentrated on the culture of Black poverty that was not unique simply for its lack of real or social capital, but for its unique appearance and role within the context of capitalist relations and segregated modes of urban development. Colloquially entitled the "Moynihan Report," the plan suggested finding jobs for the male heads of Black households. Lewis' famous framing of the "culture of poverty" is incorrectly summarized as 70 traits that can be said to be true of all the poor. While he discusses these traits as guidelines, he points out very importantly that a difference between poverty and a "subculture of poverty" must be understood to include the contextual conditions that define some types of poverty differently from others: "the meaning and the consequences of poverty vary considerably in different contexts… the subculture of poverty is part of the larger culture of capitalism, whose social and economic system channels wealth into the hands of a relatively small group and thereby makes for the growth of sharp class distinctions"(1968:20). Despite my earlier critique of his work, namely his interventionist-determinist proxy, the concentration of wealth he spoke of then, is well understood now.

As Lefebvre (1974) had suggested, capitalist cities recreate spaces that reproduce the social relations necessary to the dominant mode of production commensurate with urban imaginaries on proper use of space. Bringing the culture of poverty to bear on

Lefebvre's interpretation of the socially created value of space, one might argue that urban renewal, the creation of the home myth and suburbia, and stigmatization of poverty by the erecting of slummed out monuments to depravation, or projects, are means by which the worst off are subjected to domination; their demise, is therefore, not just about the choices or problems they might have, but also in the way capitalist urban imaginaries choose to construct solutions that include or exclude the very poor from the equation of spaces. In the long run, Johnson's war did little to redress poverty or to restore the Great Society.[27] Small decreases in the numbers of homeless during the 1960's were to be quickly erased with the economic and state retractions of the 1970's (Rossi 1989:37).

By the 1970's as Caton (1990) points out, it became impossible to ignore the homeless who were increasingly more visible; sleeping in doorways, wandering streets aimlessly, dressed in torn and tattered clothes (12). Rossi (1989) explains that despite a short period between 1970-73 when subsidized housing for the elderly actually reduced the numbers of homeless, by the mid - 1970's, downtown cores seemed to be filled with homeless people. Among these were numbers of unemployed, mostly men of various colors, who had joined the ranks of the homeless on skid row (Bahr 1968, 1973; Ward 1979; Cuomo 1983). Skid rows were increasingly in the way of redevelopment projects, and so displaced as they were, the homeless became far more visible in parks, lanes, scrambling in the night, begging on street corners, or seeking refuge in any public space with night time access (Rossi 1989:34). Combined with the sluggish economies and rising inflation during the 70's, with the relaxation of public inebriation and vagrancy laws, and with the loss of skid row territories, the homeless seemed to increase, not only in real numbers, but in terms of their visibility within the urban mainstream imaginary,

proving at the very least, the inadequacy of measures introduced to redress the problem introduced by Johnson's *War on Poverty* in the late 60's. Many scholars note that the period of the 70's was noticeably different from the 50' s and 60's, when homelessness, as distinct from vagrancy or transience, first came to be discussed in the media and the sciences as a unique category of the poor (Bahr 1973; Rossi 1989; Caton 1990; Hulchanski 2009). Amongst these differences, the emergence of families and single mothers with children on the streets and seeking assistance in greater numbers especially caught the attention of the media and the state, a trend that continues today (Rossi 1989). As Rossi (1989) suggests, whereas rundown and slummed out housing had sufficed in the mainstream imaginary for the very worst off poor in the previous decades, even this affordable but decrepit form was disappearing, and a new form, that most disturbing today, *literal homelessness* began to grow and become a highly public event (1989:34; Caton 1990). In any event, the presence of women and children on the streets had no place in urban symbolic imaginaries under late capitalism (Wright 1997, 2000).

A response to this literally homeless population was the emergency shelter system that many cities currently employ. While shelters and almshouses have existed in various forms since the mid 19th century, the emergency shelter presents itself as an evolution of sorts, and as a response to the very real presence of large numbers of homeless persons on city streets. There are no accurate figures of this national population, but in New York city as an a example, Rossi points out that shelter capacity doubled from 3000 to 6000 units over five years from the end of the 1970's into early 1984; the number of families housed in emergency welfare hotels (hotel rooms secured by federally funded vouchers to homeless families) increased from a few hundred to over 3500 per month (37). The

current emergency shelter spaces created for the poor in many cities are rooted in the visibility of the landmark court case, Callahan vs. Carey, in New York in 1979. In this case, the director of New York Coalition for the Homeless, successfully sued the city on the grounds that the city was constitutionally required to provide emergency shelter for those deemed in need. Following an injunction requiring the expansion of the city's shelter system, the city settled the suit with a promise to increase shelter space as demanded. Since then, emergency shelter systems have emerged from city to city, on the premise that the worst off *deserve* emergency protection under the law, but as discussed several times in this dissertation, the conditions therein are often worse than on the streets, and as Rossi points out, were even in the beginning, not much better than the cubicle rooms found on skid row (35). Rossi cites a study by Crystal and Goldstein (1982) in which shelter clients rate prisons above shelters in terms of safety cleanliness and food quality" (35). [28] In any event, emergency shelters are designed to offer temporary relief from the exigencies of street life and are not permanent solutions to one's homelessness. The requirements for getting into shelter often include lining up early, curfews, day-time closures, regulations on inebriation, limits on goods and belongings, and thereby restrict the homeless person from seeking work, taking on part-time or shift work, or gathering resources that might otherwise be useful (Crystal and Goldstein 1984; Rossi 1989; Weissman, "Subtext" 2005, 2009).

While the previous discussion suggests that homelessness has been a recognized issue for scholars and government for over three centuries in the U.S., it is only since the 1980's that a the bulk of work has been done in scholarly activist circles. Interestingly, Hulchanski's (2009) study showed that of the 4,744 articles found between 1851 to 2005

that contained the word, *homelessness*, 87% of this usage was in the 20 years between 1985 and 2005 (2009:1). The 1980's represent a particularly difficult time for the poor in North American cities. In terms of actual numbers, taking New York once again as an example[29], because reliable national stats are hard to come by, the number of persons accessing shelter beds per night was conservatively estimated to have increased from 5000 in 1983 to 9000 in 1988 (Caton 1990:12). Part of the rise in numbers is related to economic recession that had in due course led to the highest national unemployment since the Great Depression; reaching 10.7% in 1982 before settling at around six per cent in late 1988 (ibid – The current rate is close to 7.5% according to HUD 2013).

Many accounts of the Reagan years, look upon his reign as one of the most dismal periods in American history as it regards the underclass and the working man. Regan's Presidency is often placed side by side with Thatcher's as emblematic of conservative neoliberalism (Rose 1999; Dean 1999, 2010; Gordon 1991). The mandate of government under neoliberalism was to reduce government expenditure. Under Reagan, this reduced spending occurred concomitant with increases in military and defense budgets at the expense of national welfare and housing programs. In the online journal, *Shelterforce*, Peter Dreier (2004#135) makes many interesting observations that correlate the Reagan administration with rising numbers of homeless in the 1980's. While economic stability was regained during his term, the gap between the wealthy and the poor continued to widen, as it does today. As it regards the phenomenon of the shantytown, the withdrawal of funding to cities was perhaps most dramatic. Other than maintaining high amounts of funding for the highways that connected suburbs to cities, federal funding of urban centers declined; previously to 1980, federal dollars were 22%

of city budgets, and after, only 6%. On a national scale, this led to closure of fire stations, hospitals, outpatient psychiatric services, schools and various programs for the needy, many of which were homeless. In this environment of retracted spending, in which cities and communities were increasingly expected to bear the weight for social programs, it seems understandable that the visibility of the poor would increase, and it did. At the same time, the urban spaces set aside for the homeless declined in number due to incentive driven urban renewal projects by private contractors, or were converted into undesirable shelters. To his critics, Reagan was robbing from the poor to give to the rich.

Boltanski (2010) has instructed that while institutions such as the government, bureaucracies, religious organizations, educational or employment sites are administrative and policy driven, they are also comprised of individuals with particular values and abilities that contribute to the creation of knowledge and decision making inside the institution.[30] The critique of institutions must, therefore, include the critique of individuals. In cases, such as Roosevelt's regime, the critique is framed often within the debate between liberalism and merging neoliberalism in the US, something I have done. In Reagan's case, critique has to be leveled not only to his political conservatism, but also to his uncanny ability to convert ignorance into policy.

As a gifted communicator, however, Reagan had managed to convince much of the nation that what was good for the economy and for business was good for America. Under the rubric of economic recovery, slashing social welfare programs seemed necessary. Reagan and his pundits employed a deceptive form of communication to paint the homeless in the terms of negativity that neo-conservative neoliberal governance construes for the poor and the failed citizen. "In early 1984 on Good Morning America,

Reagan defended himself against charges of callousness toward the poor in a classic blaming-the-victim statement saying that "people who are sleeping on the grates…the homeless…are homeless, you might say, by choice" (Dreier 2004).

According to the Salem eBook, three-volume set, *The Eighties in America*, (2005: "Homelessness"), the actual number of homeless in the early 80's ranged from 250, 000 according to HUD, or 3, 000, 000 according to activists. The discrepancy is indicative of the tendency of the former to deflate the extensive failure of the state to redress poverty, and to dramatize big problems with big numbers in the latter. While Reagan's critique reflected an historically carved sentiment towards undeserving poor, a great deal of attention began to be paid to revealing the actual causes of homelessness. The theories of causation rotated on two axes; the characteristics of homeless individuals, and the structural conditions that contributed to homelessness. With some variation, most studies noted the dramatic increase in families increasingly falling into chronic homelessness and that many homeless people had jobs but could not afford to live in shelter. Simply put, when compared to the homeless of previous decades, the new homeless were younger, more racially diverse, and despite continuing trends of addiction and mental incapacitation, they were notably able-bodied and willing to work (ibid).[31]

Amongst researchers, it was concluded that no single axis, or any single category of infliction or experience was responsible for what was emerging as an increasingly diverse expression of homelessness. Amongst structural variables, research looked at:

1. closure of mental hospitals – since almost 33% of the homeless were determined to have mental illness, a reduction in total psychiatric beds from 550,000 in 1955, to 120, 000 in 1984 had some effect but could not be wholly to blame for the dramatic increases, nor the range of types of homelessness.
2. The introduction of crack cocaine, (similarly to meth-amphetamine today) – drug testing in some New York Shelters suggested that over 83% of homeless tested

positive for cocaine use. While cocaine use did increase, the overall measure of drug use in the homeless population did not change in the 1980's so, cocaine could not be the cause of the increase, nor drug use.

3. Structural - policy level changes occurred just before the spike in numbers. These are associated with Reagan's policy towards the undeserving poor. Cutbacks to low income housing, long term care facilities and other programs for the very poor must have had a contributing value to the rise of homelessness.
4. The eradication of low income housing was made worse by the gentrification of city centers which hinged on the elimination of Single Room Occupancy units and overcrowding in cheap motels which were increasingly becoming occupied by families forced out of the housing market.
5. Faced with the choice of food and clothing or shelter for their children, many families chose the former and were forced into shelters or the streets in order to satisfy the latter.[32]

The implication of these general observations is that in some cases of chronic street homelessness, some people are rendered incapable of working and caring for themselves because of addiction or mental health issues. It also suggests that many others are willing to work, but cannot find the type of employment that pays well enough to support a family. Hence homelessness is a manifestation of working poverty; jobs simply did not pay enough for a family to survive. By the late 1980's, Reagan's ridiculous comments about poor people choosing to be homeless had been exposed for their fallacy, and as the economy showed signs of recovery, the persistence of advocates such as the National Alliance to End Homelessness[33], the media representation of homeless children and parents on the streets, and the academic attention paid to urban social problems, pressured the federal Government to introduce the first large scale program for housing.

Under Reagan, The federal McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (1987) was passed with much ceremony that included a sleep-in on Capitol Hill in which congressmen, advocates and the homeless demonstrated their unity over the issue. The

act placed close to 2 billion dollars spread over two years into housing programs, subsidies for existing emergency shelters, rehabs and other medical services (Rossi 1989:37 also USICH 2010). When added up with the existing social programs for the poor at federal, state and local levels, it was expected that these monies would buttress efforts to stem new cases of homelessness, and also that they would extend services beyond their normal reach to existing homeless clients. It is understood today that the monies were too few and spread out too widely, (A "drop in the bucket") and were often too misused, to effect meaningful change.[34] Since then, the Act had been re-written and invigilated by the *United States Interagency Council on Homelessness* (USICH), which was created in the same act.

The purpose of USICH is to "coordinate the federal response to homelessness and to create a national partnership at every level of government and with the private sector to reduce and end homelessness in the nation while maximizing the effectiveness of the federal Government in contributing to the end of homelessness" (USICH 2010). By the beginning of the 1990's the failure of this spending to effect real change had created a strong conservative opposition to the program (Rossi 1989). Summing up the 1980's, Caton suggests that entering the 1990's, the following factors contributed to higher numbers of homeless:

1. Economic recession coupled with high inflation and lowered benefits for the unemployed.
2. Lack of affordable housing based on the gentrification of city cores and money spent on temporary shelter measures.
3. Reforms in social security that steered funding away from able bodied persons to those with known disabilities.
4. Deinstitutionalization of mental health, health and welfare services which had seen the increased downloading of services once provided by state and federal hospitals and agencies to local providers to none at all. This is especially true of state mental institutions, state child welfare services and prison systems (15-17).

> The result was the beginning of the exposure of a massive problem of widely distributed homelessness " ripped from its customary habitat" (Hopper 2003: 176).

As Rossi pointed out in 1989, the actual numbers of the homeless are difficult to ascertain and really unimportant in the sense that homelessness is obviously a major social problem (38). Of the forty or so "reasonably well-conducted" studies on the homeless during the first half of the 1980's Rossi suggests that information has been collected with a particular eye to influence policy directions. Out of this research came some substantive information, which was useful. First it was clear that the old versions of the "homeless" (prior to 1980) were able to find shelter either legally or by trespassing indoors and this had become far more difficult to do by the end of the 1980's.

Early studies had also shown that the institutional solution, the shelter, proved less hospitable than squats or the street or the run down motels of skid row (Levinson 2004). Perhaps most importantly, these factors had combined to make homelessness extremely visible in cities. Within this transparency the presence of women and children on the streets became alarming. Between 1976 and 1986 the number of women on the streets rose from less than 3% to over 25% of the street population (this number is a composite based on partial data from New York and Chicago in Rossi 1989:39). An interesting change had been that old age pensioners were largely underrepresented in street counts during the 80's, whereas the mean age of the homeless in 1989 was 39 (40). Social Security and affordable senior residences had served that demographic well. Rossi also points out that while 25% of respondents in Bogue's well known 1963 study of skid rows were employed at some point during the week, in 1989, a survey in Chicago demonstrated that only 3% worked. Rossi calculated that in terms of absolute poverty,

the homeless in 1989, were worse off than their 1958 counterparts; the actual spending power of the average street person in 1989 was less than 1/3 that of those in 1958 (ibid).

The final contrast is something we today find unsurprising. In 1958, Chicago's skid row and New Yorks' Bowery were primarily White, 82% and 70% respectively. By 1989, the ethnic composition had shifted negatively in favour of Black Americans; 54% and 74% respectively. These rates started increasing in the 1980's and as discussed in chapter two, homelessness like poverty is now more likely if you are Black (Rossi 1989; Caton 1990; Marcuse 1990; Wright 2000; State Of Oregon 2011). Rossi adds that disabilities, alcoholism and drug abuse are still significant factors amongst the homeless. However, it is cautioned that all these variables are additive and conditioning (42-43). It is unlikely that any single factor can explain the kind of abject poverty and street-engaged homelessness on which these observations were based.

Yet despite the various studies and programs, The US is left with a growing and increasingly more entrenched form of homelessness in 2012. The current dilemma with homelessness in the US is in part due to a similar underfunding of programs that hampered the McKinney Act; a loosely structured largely uncoordinated housing services and care sector (Leginski 2007); and spread of homelessness into new categories of deserving poor, such as middle class families struck by illness or unemployment. That is; that homelessness since the 1980's has mutated into a different creature than in earlier forms.

One of the main differences noted by Wright (2000) is that by 1990, homelessness had become understood as episodic and therefore it was difficult to understand because it varied widely in terms of how long a poor person might be without shelter, or why.

Whereas hobos and vagabonds had come to define a sort of lifestyle, the new poverty was indicative of a type of extreme poverty where individuals fell in and out of housing with the ebbs and tides of their irregular work opportunities (2000:28). It was not so much that homelessness *"was you might say a choice…"* - many homeless worked or sought gainful employment, but the experience of employment and relative value of wages had changed. They were insufficient relative to the cost of living. And then there were those too, who were mentally or physically ill and uncared for, those who were incarcerated frequently, and those addicts who had nowhere else to go. This diverse composition makes it difficult to ascertain the actual numbers of homeless people because they are hard to locate and harder still to define.

Wright looks at shelter usage as an indicator of the dimension of the problem, a practice carried out by most agencies today looking for street counts of the homeless.[35] Between 1985 to 1991 he estimated that 5.7 million Americans had experienced episodes of homelessness (28). The number increased annually, by as much as 11% between 1997 and 1998 alone. In 1999 participants at the U.S. Conference of Mayors identified a lack of affordable housing as the major cause of homelessness in their jurisdictions (ibid). Wright makes an interesting survey of several countries arguing that increases in the number of people who were literally homeless or inadequately sheltered increased globally between 1980 and 1996 due to the increasingly neoliberal policies in the west which promoted devolution, and in the case of the former Soviet Union, because the rise of the market economy had made housing unaffordable.

Based on figures released at the Habitat II Conference in Istanbul Turkey, by 1996 the number of people living in inadequate shelter had reached 1 billion (ibid).

While the US followed the model of other countries, including Canada for quick and temporary fixes to dire circumstances, and increased spending on emergency shelters and food banks, the numbers of homeless continued to rise and policy began to reflect more punitive attitudes. I have discussed Wright's discussion of enforcement earlier, but it should be noted that many of the laws and regulations criminalizing homelessness are articulated by The National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty (1999). Mitchell, (1991) and others including Stoner (1995) and Barak (1992) sketch some of these general measures; anti-camping, anti-sitting and staying laws, anti-pan-handling and loitering, sexual indecency (such as urinating in public). Wright has discussed these as attempts to isolate the very poor in institutional spaces created by capital such as shelters and prisons, or to discard them into the invisible margins, the dark places, I have referred to as negative space (Wright 1997, 2000; Weissman 2012). For Wright, such policies are very much directed towards the attitudes of mainstream imaginaries and tourists; sweeping the streets and parks is just that; an attempt to present a cleaned up version of the city to the opinion of the world.

In this light, and on the basis of the inadequacy of the state to house the homeless, in addition to the streets, shelters and slums, Wright follows Headley (1990-91) in framing the modern penal system as a branch of the housing policy towards economically redundant persons under neoliberalism since the 90's. With as many as 1.63 million people incarcerated in 1996, and 54% of them poor and Black, Wright frames the lack of real effort in the realm of housing as indicative of the disinterest of neoliberal regimes to effect programs that would cost money to benefit people of no use to capital which was engaged in a process of relocating to cheaper low wage regions of the world (2000:29).

Implicit in his statement is the widely held belief that deserving and underserving categories of poor, or of the homeless, inhere the traditional expectation of personal solvency or of a usefulness to others in economic performance. I mentioned this as an early condition of residency in the colonies, an attribute carried over from England, and iterated in poor laws, but remaining essential to neoliberal constructions of "deserving" moral character.

Under neoliberal policies, there is some recognition that people have rights to shelter and food, but little recognition of the state's direct and explicit role in providing these measures. Underlying this difficulty is the inherent complexity of the types of homelessness one encounters. As Wright suggests, there is a tendency to look at homelessness in terms of fanciful causal narratives about personal limitations (Baumhol 1996 in Wright 2000:30). Conservatives tend to view the homeless within a religious/moral framework, "to invite homeless people to repent for their sins." They react to homeless people as crazy dangerous persons, in need of social control (30). On the other hand, there is a tendency amongst Liberals, to look at the individual as flawed or incapable of any economic or normal function and, therefore, as either useless in the context of capitalism, undeserving of any real measures to improve their life style, unless they are willing to enter a rehab program of some sort, and better themselves. This Liberal position assumes that people can be fixed through rehabs and other programs, supported housing and medical interventions (30). The push is for more shelters, more rehabs, more money to "fix" people and their social condition of despair. It is within the context of this governmentality that much research on the homeless has been done in shelters, rehabs and treatment centers, and hence my earlier interrogation of the limits of

governmentality. It is within this latter context that categories of deserving and undeserving, such as looking for work in order to get welfare or unemployment, imposes conditional worth on individuals, and the allotment of services and funds can be said to follow discrimination on the basis of worth that resides outside of basic human dignity.

Both positions are misguided; they perceive of the homeless as immoral characters in need of a spiritual awakening, or as constitutionally flawed and in need of "treatment", and fail to locate these possibilities in broader political and economic contexts. Wright therefore suggests looking at the imbrication of so-called "causes"; social-structural, individual, causes within the wider politico-economic struggle for capital accumulation and racial privilege (ibid). The major problem with poverty and housing policies under the neoliberalism of the 90's was that they reflected an overemphasis on addressing the symptoms of troubled or "addicted" individuals in order to get them into shelter without addressing the basic issues of social structural poverty; housing and income are not (sufficiently) addressed. The way that the homeless had been studied by academics, researchers, foundations and the media tended to support a taxonomic representation of the poor by identifying special needs, such as homeless, veterans, HIV drug users, single mothers, teenagers, mentally-ill and so on. In espousing the prevalence of special needs, a new category of deserving poor people emerged. (31). Wright points out that out of 354 articles on homelessness studied by Blasi (1994) 2/3 were in journals devoted to psychiatry, medicine and psychology (Wright 2000:3; Blasi 1995: 580). The implication of this finding, according to Blasi, was that the way American social science looked at social life, especially as it related to poverty, was

through the highly individualized personalities and life choices made by individuals (581, in Wright 2000, ibid).

Without addressing all the laws and policies of the federal government, one area, Welfare Reform is important to mention before going onto the decade of the shantytown. All studies attest to the fact that the numbers of homeless had steadily increased between 1980 and 2000 (Caton 1990; Marcuse 1990; Wright, Rubin and Devine 1998; Wright 2000; Leginski 2007). Wright marks that attention to poverty rates tell us very little about real numbers of those experiencing poverty; between 1980 and 1996, the number of Americans entering poverty increased by over 7% or 7.3 million people, while poverty rates fluctuated. At the same time, despite short periods of economic decline, the overall economy grew faster and larger than it had ever done, and the top 1/5 of the population became wealthier than it had ever been; a trend that continues today. This great wealth occurred at a time when the incomes of the other 4/5 of the country began to decline. The bottom fifth of the population saw its share of wealth decline from 5.4% to 4.7% as a result of declining incomes and the loss of low paying jobs (Wright 2000:31). It is into this steady decline of the worst off that the retraction of welfare placed the unrealistic burden of maintaining housing.

It is important to note as well, that during the 90's a number of BIDS were introduced in US cities. I mentioned earlier that such districts of capitalization used the press, sit and stay laws enforced by the police and other means to discourage homeless people from city cores. With urban economies thirsty for recovery, capital enjoyed a certain freedom in effecting policy towards the homeless in most cities. Under this "rule,"

shelters, hostels and rehabs are understood as well organized, disciplinary and geared towards restoring homeless people to some useful capacity (for capital) .

Wright and Leginski share a certain contempt for the intake policies of municipal shelters and the ethos of The Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program. TANF[36] was an essential element of the 1996 welfare reform law. It shifted cash assistance away from aid to children in low-income families to temporary aid conditional on work. The effectiveness of this program is disputed. TANF caseloads have dropped by as much as 60%, which has prompted claims that many welfare moms have made their way into the labor market (Leginski 2007:23). There is little data on what these jobs might be or how satisfactory their housing is as a result. Furthermore, other studies, suggest that in the first ten years since its inception many former TANF recipients failed to pay their rent and entered homelessness. The number, inaccurate as usual, is between 7 to 44 per cent (Leginski 2007). Wright (2000) finds the assessment, sanctions and punitive structures and practices of the shelter system equally troubling and self-serving. Where HUD tends to represent the rules of TANF in a progressive policy frame, and asserts that its weaknesses have been addressed by more flexible language in subsequent versions (2005), critics see the rules as setting restrictions on people in need, especially regarding housing (Leginski 2007:23). For Wright such policies serve only to accentuate the bias of the federal government to seek solutions that benefit policy makers and institutions before those they serve

Taking TANF as an example, policy in the late 1990's was designed to instill a sense of purpose for single mothers that non-poor single mothers were presumed to enjoy; similarly, homeless men were expected to pursue the activities and freedoms of a

"normalized" population. Work was worth. This sentiment is 400 years old. But what work was there? It is hard to separate the ethos of this policy from the debates over worth couched in the "deserving" - "undeserving" continuum that I have eluded to many times. In this case, the distinction excludes all able-bodied persons without dependents, and casts those worst off poor, the street engaged homeless, into an un-serviced category of undeserving poor, whose only recourse is to occupy physically accessible but usually legally prohibited space, beg, become jailed, institutionalized or die.

By the end of the 1990's leading into the 2000's Wright suggests:

"The dominant cultural ideology now shared by both major political parties in the United States relies upon the assumptions that spending on social welfare increases dependency and that "excessive" government intervention in markets and state regulation makes it difficult for businesses to stay competitive in a global market-place. This ideology, strengthened by the "no new taxes" rebellion of the 1980's, undercut attempts to use government for social good. The "no new taxes "rebellion started in California with the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 (Schrag 1999), and spread to other states in the 1980's. Coupled with the twin ideological concepts of deficit reduction and privatization of public services, the reduction of government services increased the misery of the poor while advancing the economy for the benefit of upper middle-class professionals and wealthy investors" (34).

And later,

"Simply put, my argument is as follows: At the level of appearance, homelessness is about poverty and ill health. However, these conditions are created by the normal capitalist production of low-wage jobs, high housing costs, coupled with a reduction in social welfare benefits from states attempting to compete with one another over the price of labor and the costs of benefits… According to Devine (see Barak 1992: 58), who operationalized the links between political economy and homelessness, economic development under neoliberalist policies lowers elite interest in helping the poor. Locally, cities are invested with "entrepreneurial" functions acting as an independent player in private-public partnerships (Mayer 1994; Wright 1997) . These policy shifts have increased the vulnerability of the poor, with the abolishment of the safety net, medicalization and criminalization of the homeless, and the shifting of funds from the civil welfare state to the corporate welfare state. Citizen rights and capital responsibility via progressive taxation and an expanded social wage have been reversed to capital rights and citizen responsibility via regressive taxation and a shrinking social wage. Hence, we have both increased numbers of people without shelter combined with a reduced commitment to solve the root causes" (34-35).

I hope you will excuse the lengthy quote. It is my opinion that this passage sums up the ideological undercurrents of American neoliberalism as it regards homelessness. However, I think it should be noted, that even Wright discusses homelessness in this passage as fairly uniform experience. The people discussed in my field work are of a special type; having experienced periodic episodes of homelessness, but coming from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, they come to be associated with various categories that reflect the mandates of various acts and plans at different times. What unites these people is their co-residence in a modern shantytown. As a measure not discussed in official plans to end homelessness, nor as a model of alternative housing that meets the expectations of capital in a privatized service sector, the shantytown then must be understood as related to, but not resulting from this legacy of plans and attitudes towards deserving and undeserving poor. In fact, this history set the official competition between Supportive Housing Models and Shelter models, while recognizing that many persons would be left to the streets. While tent camps and squats were understood as temporary expressions of the street, they are not recognized nor mentioned as valid spatializations of a solution to chronic homelessness, not until Dignity Village. I need to backtrack a little so we can understand how the current Housing First model praised by HUD and USICH came to be a certain counter-critique to the village.

6.4 Pathways to Housing, Housing First and Continuum of Care

In 1992, a new program called Pathways to Housing had emerged as a local response to street homelessness in New York. Though limited in scope, this model recognized that the influence of variables on homelessness were additive and often co-

dependent especially amongst the chronically homeless. As an evidence based model, it identified that among the street population, it was a combination of psychiatric disorder and addiction that had confounded responses to chronic street engaged homelessness, and that periods of incarceration or other traumas contributed to the difficulty of remaining housed (Koegel and Beck 2004:284; Tsemberis 2004:277). Prior to this recognition, shelters, housing programs and rehabilitation models had demanded sobriety as a condition of housing as part of the continuum of housing model.[37] Under the continuum of housing, potential recipients of housing were expected to get sober, learn how to maintain housing in transitional or sheltered spaces while maintaining sobriety, and then would be placed into housing, if it were available (279). Advocates of Pathways, recognized that not only was sobriety unlikely or sustainable for most people who suffered addictions, but when presented with other symptoms such as mental illness, the idea that "only through treatment could a consumer become "housing ready" was as likely as a phoenix rising from the ashes, literally (278). The Pathways to Housing model views housing as a right for all people, and that housing and treatment are not inherently linked domains.

Beric German (2005) of the Toronto Disaster Relief Committee said that we must think of *housing as health care*[38], suggesting a link between stable shelter and the ancillary likelihood of dealing with mental health and addictions subsequent to this. This is the position that grew out of the *Pathways* initiative. The Emergency Housing and Homelessness Pilot Project that housed ex residents of Tent City in 2003, also used rent supplement programs to rapidly re-house homeless folks. Initial reports in 2005 cited improved physical health as one of the benefits of the housing, while my film Subtext,

used ethnography to show that the transition to housing from the streets, was very difficult for some recipients (WoodGreen 2005; Weissman 2005). Hence, the argument is that housing ought to be provided and that the choice to pursue treatment of substance or other issues should rest in the individual. Tsemberis (2004:277-281) citing Rowe (1999:85), argues that denying the individual this voice is tantamount to oppression. Within the Pathways model, homeless persons are placed in self-contained apartments, usually found in the regular housing market. Assertive Community Treatment or ACT teams, comprised of social workers, housing workers and medical officers provide the necessary social and other supports as requested by individuals in rental units and on the streets, and as yet unhoused. By the late 1990's, the model was successful in New York, Philadelphia and Burlington, Vermont. Success in this case is understood as most recipients of assistance maintaining their housing and in cases, achieving goals to overcome addiction and other complicating issues. In the Pathways model, residents spent more time in stable housing than control groups in continuum of care models (Tsemberis 2004:282). Entering the 2000's, a *Pathways to Housing* paradigm was being more widely experienced and was incorporated into *Housing First*, a national scale model of supportive housing. While it seemed as if housing was finally receiving the attention it deserved, the extension of supportive housing was slow moving. Shelters continued to overflow, families increased on the streets and in shelters, and tents were going up, as the numbers of homeless continued to rise.

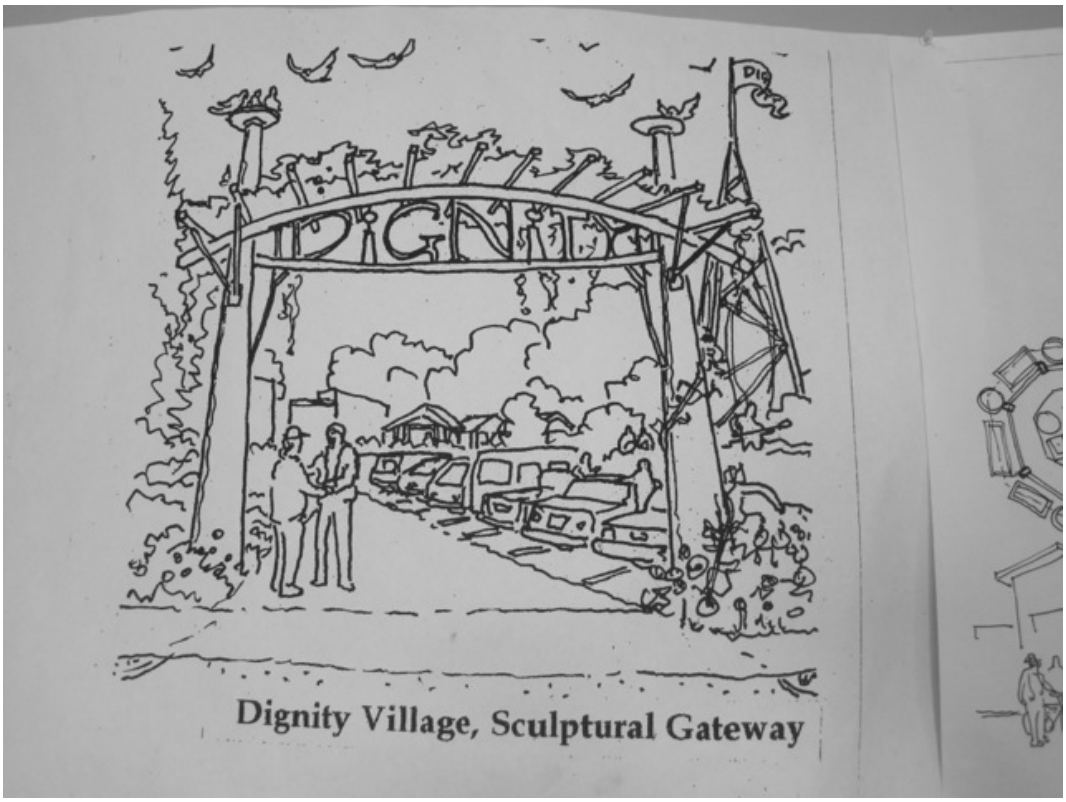


Fig. 19. Early Imaginings of the Village. Ca. 2004 (E. Weissman).

6.5 Enter the Shantytown

"Tent Cities are America's de facto waiting room for affordable and accessible housing. The idea of someone living in a tent (or other encampment) in this country says little about the decisions made by those who dwell within and so much more about our nation's inability to adequately respond to those in need" (Neil Donovan, Director of the National Coalition of the Homeless 2010).

Tent camps, temporary squats and overnight sleeping in parks and empty buildings remain fairly constant spatializations of the need for shelter in American cities. I want to distinguish between these places and Dignity Village on the grounds that the former are regarded as impermanent, and in cities where they are found, are usually tolerated on the basis of this impermanence. However, squatting and camping remains a crapshoot for most homeless people. All cities in the US maintain anti-panhandling, ant-sleeping, anti-camping laws that are exercised at the discretion of the police (NCH 2006

2010; Conner 2006). Whereas the squatting or occupation of vacant buildings usually results in the eviction and arrest of homeless trespassers, camping in parks or setting up tents tends to become a legal and political statement that draws activists and opponents into legal discourses that play out in courts, or in council chambers. By 2000, all over the US, this contest between the will of homeless people and city governments had led to a more or less consistent response by cities to move illegal homeless campers from site to site commensurate with laws governing trespass, loitering and public mischief (NCH 2010: National Center for Law and Economic Justice, National Law Center on Poverty and Homelessness).[39]

In Seattle, Washington, Tent City 3 was moved as many as 134 times in less than five years.[40] Still the camps and occupations were a consistent response to a ubiquitous lack of shelter beds or affordable housing. In 2000, Dignity Village was a group of 8 homeless folks who had banded together on the streets of Portland Oregon and who were subsequently evicted according to the law with 72 hours notice from park to park, bridge under pass to bridge under pass. They were moved seven times in one year. The numbers of poor on the streets of Portland were swelling because almost every other region of Oregon was suffering from economic decline and Portland had social services and a supportive homeless community. By the middle of 2000, the 8 members of "Camp Dignity became close to 100 and this routine of eviction and emigration became ritualized by them through a campaign of marches using shopping carts that contained each "villagers'" belongings. The group would ceremoniously parade, carts in tow, on scooters, wheelchairs or by foot, along city sidewalks, usually accompanied by police and press. Between December of 2000 until September of 2001, their occupations and

subsequent evictions created a pattern that implied a temporary nature, but over the span of the two years it took to change public opinion, the action must be understood as a series of linked and critical moments aimed at social change, and as a very clear example of critique growing, changing, morphing and becoming – powerful. With each humiliating and arduous parade of wheelchairs, shopping carts and bicycles the nomadic community organized further; first as a handful of radical housing warriors known as the Housing Liberation Front (HLF). As Jack Tafari an early member recounted recently, " We were soldiers, soldiers, and that was their front, the streets" (see also Mosher 2010: DS DISC 1 part 1-"Kwamba" at 00:09:30). When they started gathering new members and squatting in parks, they became "Out of the Doorways," and then a few stops later, as a nomadic tent squat called Camp Dignity.

They had come to a final squat under the Fremont Bridge, their number, perhaps as high as 150 souls by some personal accounts. Eventually inspired by the savvy of activists and professional legal council, these homeless activists challenged the city ban on emergency campgrounds on the grounds that it violated the Oregon State Constitution, which provided municipalities the right to two emergency camps. Local environmental activists, such as Jack Tafari, celebrated the shopping cart parades, as a critique of capitalism and an indictment the violence enacted towards the poor (Mosher 2010). The cart migrations became the mobile discursive site for "good old fashioned" politicking. According to Tafari and later Ibrahim Mubarak, another founder of the village, the media loved the image of the homeless frontiersmen, defiant in the face of oppression, standing up for their rights because it made sense in Oregon. I argued earlier that Oregon has a history of rough camping and sleeping owing to its rugged terrain, the resource economy

and the history of hobos and adventurers in local folklore. Even the police recognized the group was involved in complex constitutional matters of "redress of grievance and deferred the political issue to the local political authority" (NCH 2010:11). The position of the police, the romantic nostalgia of the activists' links with a very simple argument steeped in local history, the use of signs, placards, t-shirts, and news media, were specific conditions that served the emerging claim. Recall Boltanski's suggestion that the more presence a critique has the more likely it is to succeed, or Latour, telling us to give agency to the things in our assemblages.

One of the most impactful conditions, however, was that the claim emerged within a symbolic imaginary that had room for alternative notions about space. Portland itself is rather unique for despite the wealthy and the conservative elements of the population, it fosters a variety of environmentally friendly and community oriented groups such as, "City Repair," "The Village Building Convergence,"[41] Columbia Eco Village[42] and other alternative housing groups that lend credence to the self-housing actions of the very poor.

Starting in 1996, City Repair[43] has inspired many Portland neighbourhoods to claim their community streets and to occupy them with their own interpretation of safety and utility, converting unused lots into parks and play grounds, closing intersections with creative sculpted and painted installations that slowed or inhibited vehicles to produce safety zones for children. Embedded in this movement was a desire to provide an ideological, behavioral and experiential buffer between the urban complex and the peaceful community; these zones represent thresholds between the two vectors of city space, as means of creating a safe liminal passage from one to the other; cars are forced

to slow or not enter; people are offered free tea from communal tea stands that stand unattended, wild flowers and interactive sculptures invite passersby to take a break and relax - you can pick a flower if you want. These are heterotopias, if you want to look at those features; the painted sidewalks, the free tea, the no car zone despite being built on an intersection. These places are once again, legalized, so they are not outside of the purview of the state. Portland City Council passed ordinance #172207, an "Intersection Repair" ordinance, allowing neighborhoods to develop public gathering places in certain street intersections in 2000. In such places, such as the one I visited in 2011, there are passive solar greenhouses, rain recycling systems that conserve water, completely organic composting – in fact neighbours are encouraged to bring their organic waste to the site – neighbours dress up in costumes, children play out fantasies, people share resources and help each other out. In understanding these spaces as thresholds between urban and communitarian values, one must appreciate that they are as Van Gennep (1908) suggested, symbolic of rites of actual passage, that is in a territorial sense; they are markers and liminal spaces that define and separate the activities of city governance and ludic activity from one area to another. In this sense, the annual ten-day VBC celebration and festival ritualizes the liminal mental space of alternatives to urban space.

Recall that Turner (1964) offers a second critical mental space for human social relations that occurs in rituals and festivals and affords access to and expression of critiques of extant processes, a ritualized liminal space called *communitas*. Since society is constantly in a state of becoming, he would argue, its moving forward intact, in a structural sense, required places for the periodic playing out of shifting categories of experience.[44] Turner sees beings in this ludic, second model, *communitas,* as apolitical,

or at best, ineffective politically since the purpose or function of communitas is to provide this cohesion through often festive and not insurgent events. And so at this important juncture, it is not reasonable to understand these places as evidence of communitas, even as they are evidence of a certain symbolic and ludic frivolity being managed through spatial practice. These were (are) evidence or manifestations of the political actions of communities out of which city ordinances were challenged and changed; they in fact are politically motivating for actors, and effective in changing extant practices in a permanent and symbolic sense. The alteration of city space for grassroots and permanent uses is common to Portland.

By 2000, the VBC had emerged as an ongoing competitive urban imaginary and as a ten-day festival celebration of these alternatives, so the VBC is heterotopic in the classic sense. These zones, are regarded hence, as symbolic and functional representation of this alternative way of approaching community. In general between 1996 and 2000, the idea that urban space, was public space and its use could be interpreted in myriad ways by local groups had won over the city council and in January of 2000, the city passed an ordinance allowing neighbourhoods to interpret these spaces for themselves. In many ways it was the manipulation of symbolic imagining of the use of space that preconditioned the representational possibilities of Dignity Village.

In 2000 Dignity Village amounted to little more than a few dozen tents under a bridge in downtown Portland. In the process of successfully claiming urban space, they used a variety of tactics including occupations of city spaces, media events, press coverage and appeals to constitutional law. While the right to make a claim for an emergency camp ultimately came to be understood as legitimate, the spatialization of the

claim at that time, occupation of the land under the bridge in the city, was deemed illegal, because it was on state land, not municipal property, and the state itself provided no inclusion of campgrounds within its legal code – the state code afforded cities the right to emergency camps, but only on city land. Furthermore, the occupation had grown in size, was no longer festive or communitarian in spirit like the VBC properties, and most importantly was presented to the public by opponents as a threatening and unstable liminal (in this case as inter-structural, even anti-structural) population. As with all power struggles, parties so engaged use the legal and other resources they have to effect a response in opponents and competitors. In this case, the city used a 48 hour eviction order placed by the state on the camp, to force the campers to accept a proposed move to Sunderland Yard, a swept off municipal leaf composting facility near the airport, about 9 miles from downtown.

While the city was bound by a state supreme court decision to provide for emergency campgrounds, it had the discretion to decide where on city property to allow such places. While some of the city's population supported the intentional community, there was still a large entrenched conservative element, especially developers of the city core, near the bridge occupation, who were solidly against homeless camps. However, as Mosher (2010) points out, as the community gained support among the public, activists and other supporters, they gained power within the regional political structure. Mosher's argument and the one I entertain in this dissertation, is that the involvement of the homeless, or perhaps of all exploited and underrepresented people under neoliberal governmentality, even in resistance, elucidates one's place and role within the power structure and suggests the viability of choices one can make to redress the situation or to

make claims. De Certeau has suggested such choices appear as tactics and strategies that are essential to making the 'practice of everyday life" possible, even desirable (1984).[45] Always understood as a means to redress the domination of people by powerful interest groups and regimes, the practice of resistance amounts to a way to see one's own performance in the shadow of these powerful strategies (ibid). And to me, this links the cause with pragmatic deliberations of actors.

Jim Francisconi, a wealthy Portlander and council member most vocally delivered opposition to the claim from within the council.

> You need professional help. That's my opinion, you can agree or disagree. What if I had come to that camp in November or December? Now I could go, that could be or that could be my kids. That's never going to be me - That's never going to be my kids! Because I've got money! (The crowd of activists heckles)…"I've got assets," he says over the noise. (Mosher 2010: DS DISC 1, part 1).

Far from stemming the action, such vulgar acclamations galvanized support amongst the housing activists. As part of the claim process, local environmental activist Mark Lakeman, said,

> For these people their highest need has to do with not just shelter, but dignity. Who even knows what that really consists of when you don't really know what its like not to have it?" (Mosher 2010 DS DISC 1, "Kwamba" at 00:18:24).

Claimants became critically aware of themselves and envisioned the action and the direction this might have taken. This direction expressed in critical communicative action, takes fundamental values such as dignity and freedom, which are indescribable in themselves and gives them meaning in a transcendent context of critical action. It is essential to remember that city governance plays a role in the outcome. Whereas Habermas (1971, 1987) had suggested that this transcendent communicative action employs a fairly stable vision of an ultimate truth onto an ethical debate about the course

of moral action, there is some question about how this claim should have manifested, and the answer was clearly not understood by each party in the same way. Villagers wanted to stay put near the downtown world that was vital to them socially. The city wanted to contain a hazardous liminal population and to find a place where their poverty could be managed without damaging other conventional values, such as the prosperity of the downtown core and urban redevelopment. The activists themselves were divided on what they would accept as a dignified response.

In the case of claims making by Dignity Village, there was little consensus about what dignity and freedom really meant amongst the homeless claims makers, nor the politicians who sat in their case. Divisions within each group destabilized the force of resistance exerted by city councilors opposed to the village, and also threatened to weaken the village's claim to be competent enough to be self-managed. Activists such as Mosher, and the homeless people who started the village, sought a structural reformation that saw "truly equal access to jobs and housing" as a result of the critical action, at least down the road (Mosher 2010: DS DISC, part 1 - "Kwamba" - various). This did little to solidify divergent versions of the "truth" within the activist collective.

In open-air protests leading up to the settlement with the city, an Out of the Doorways spokesperson (recall that the hard core activists who started the Dignity movement were called the Housing Liberation Front, HLF and then Out of the Doorways) said,

> Americans are willing to embrace the fact that racism is wrong, Americans are willing to embrace the fact that homophobia is wrong, that sexism is wrong – it's time to embrace the fact that classism is wrong. It's discrimination. We will not stand for it. We will stand united and we will die with dignity. If you will try and sweep us I promise on my grave that there will be more tent cities, if you sweep us we will come back, if you

sweep us we will come back, and back and back (the crowd joins in and..) and back and back…"

It is difficult to understand what equality means in the context of the culture of chronically homeless that while pursuing freedom and equality, has been shown to be competitive, meritocratic and often riddled with physical and mental challenges not faced by the mainstream.[46] If there is no observable truth, if reality is constantly shifting, how could communicative action ever be directed towards a stable notion of truth? While both groups claimed the right to democracy and freedoms guaranteed by state constitutional law, they differed on what ideal spatializations of these shared beliefs might entail. Ultimately this power struggle would play out in city council chambers, and within the internal structure of the activist movement.

At the city-council meeting in 2001 where the decision to place Dignity activists on a piece of city land was announced, the mayor said that the decision to try this intentional community was an appeal to the desire to, "provide a sense of place that we always talk about, and a sense of community to residents of our community that never experienced it before" (ibid). With the conditions of the claim understood, following Dean (1991) as an eventalization of the discursive normalization of a liminal space within poverty governance, the lives of Dignity Villagers and their stories are to be understood as expressions of this liminality in a culture of poverty peculiar to a certain neoliberal governmentality, that unites a sense of place with legitimacy within the broader community. In the 5 member city-council executive, a division had emerged between those who understood the claim as fundamental to the rights of all citizens to make shelter; that they were deserving on the basis of that basic citizenship to this right, and others who felt that the drugs, characterlogical defects and appearance of idleness

rendered them undeserving. Beyond this basic debate, there was too the problem of scale and the willingness to adopt such a space to accommodate the vastly larger representation of chronically homeless people. Boltanski (2010) has suggested that in the justifications produced by coterminous worth economies or worlds that tend to structure modern social life, there reside both the possibility for arguments to resolve or to append conflict. The moral claim made by village activists on the grounds of a greater sense of dignity and justice, a *greater good,* one might say did not resonate well with the standard cost effective, deserving/undeserving arguments presented by some of the opponents.

In a city hall hearing to adjudicate the lease for Dignity Village on August, 30 2001, Portland city commissioner, Jim Francisconi said:

My own prior experience, which is not in the area of homelessness, but based on conversations with people I truly respect, based on some of the testimony here today, based on my own experience in community organizing – Folks! You need some professional help to crack the issue of homelessness (someone heckles in the audience, a homeless spectator – and you can disagree with me, and that is fine, that is my belief, and I have that strong belief. So for the reasons, and the last one let me tell you, just the practicalities - we have such a homeless issue in this city – we're talking about 60 people. So are we providing campsites for 2000 people? We're not folks. It isn't going to happen.

Portland city commissioner Dan Saltzman echoed the sentiment:

I am not prepared to accept the idea of camping as a permanent element of our homeless shelter system. We need housing. We need roofs over people's heads, and while I think that a particular constellation of people have aligned themselves with Dignity Village - you've sort of enamored a lot of people…and it may work… for Dignity Village. But I am not prepared to take the next step and say the next camp that comes along no matter how well organized should become a permanent fixture of the system. That is to me, not the way the system needs to go.

Fig 20. Mitch, Samson and the "barking" dog. July 2011. The Look of Liminality. (E. Weissman).

Other members of the council, buoyed by the positive spin in some of the Press and by the support of local politicians and religious groups, took another path. A year after it opened, Erik Sten, Portland City Commissioner, (interviewed in 2002 for *Doorways to Dignity*, Mosher 2010 - DS DISC 1) said of the emergence of Dignity Village,

"It's a hundred percent driven by the individuals that made it happen.. and to my opinion, zero percent driven by the city…You can say we did a little to make it possible: probably better, you can say, "we didn't stop it"… is a better description of what we did."

Later he added:

"We have an immense amount of activists, in this community who have supported Dignity Village. There's a lot of churches, individuals, businesses that have been helping Dignity for years …and then we tend to have, you know, very independent activists – the people who live at Dignity Village, I mean, so I don't know if its unique for Portland, but I mean, you've got a tolerant government, you know, we're a supportive government, a

very active community that was willing to lend a hand, and then you've got the right kind of activists. And those seem to me to be the three things that have to be in place. And I don't think those things are unique to Portland, but if you were lacking any one of those three things, I don't think Dignity would have survived - without all the volunteer support it got; obviously the people drove it and if the city wanted to shut it down, we would of. I mean, yeah, it would get some bad press for two or three days, but it would be over." (From, Mosher, H. 2011 Doorways to Dignity").

In the case of the Village, Boltanski would say that a "compromise" was reached that bridged two worlds, one I am trying to develop as the emerging liminal world of homeless activists and the other a political world of governance. However, he would also argue that compromises are rarely as powerful as the principles that comprise them, and often lead to conflict down the road as they unravel and their contradictions become apparent. The point behind a pragmatic and critical ethnography is to make these contradictions apparent, but also to unravel existing knowledge so as to understand ways out of the aporia such contradictions represent.

One such aporia appeared even before the official site was settled. The impossibility of transcendental and stable truths is the aporia that lies at the heart of their deconstruction. The hard core activists from Out of the Doorways, "the homeless front" (or HLF) who were the original movers in this claim processes, rejected the city's offer, which they recognized correctly as a sort of coopting of the claim within the power of the city. It was an emotional split. People who had been battling for years on the streets for the right to land on which to build a community became divided on the very issue that united them. In seeking the sanction of the city, some activists had invited the rationalization techniques of housing and urban governance to dictate some of the terms; at least in so far as the space of the settlement was concerned. HLF radicals recognized the impossibility of being truly self-determined or self-governing if the ultimate authority

over village life was the city through its codes, inspectors and laws. They fragmented from the larger collective action and occupied a field near downtown, called affectionately at the time, Field of Dreams (comments by Jack Tafari, from Mosher 2010: DS DISC 1, "Kwamba" at 00:19:00). In short order, even dreams fade; they were evicted and scattered to the streets again. For them, understanding the claim meant understanding that the right of the individual to pursue their freedom was the essence of dignity and no other body or institution should have a say in that definition or where that freedom should take place, literally understood as the space of freedom; they felt freedom and dignity meant the right to choose where and how to live. It was not a question of democracy, they skipped right past the yet to come and were looking for an altogether other type of government.

They were the radical faction, even if the conventional Portlanders saw the whole group as one big problem. Another way of seeing this process is that freedom and rights deconstructed as they were in the compromise led to a discursive and moral split between the hard core activists, who embraced the aporietic value of freedom as a chance to embrace a new model of community, and the other activists whose idea of freedom meant the chance to regain their vision of the American dream, by being housed again and participating in democracy, because they understood democracy to *mean* freedom. They understood freedom as an attachment to the right to pursue your dreams and to have stable housing – they wanted a base on which to live and from which to carry the rights to housing for other homeless people. It is in this sense that I have always found resistance to these communities troubling because at the heart of this action is the desire to conform, not to reject conventional attitudes and principles. The villagers who built the village and

continue to live there, want to embrace the law, not because the law is just, but because their claims are just because there is law (Derrida 1996). This less radical group led by Tafari and Ibrahim Mubarak, went along with the city proposal to relocate the protesters to a site of the city's choosing because, after all is said and done, people die on the streets more easily than under shelter. And that was Dignity Village; 9401 NE Sunderland Ave. Portland, next to a prison, a composting facility and an airport.

Hence, the proviso by Saltzman is noteworthy, as more than a footnote to the scenario. The proviso that no other camps be investigated made the claim more precious and rare, and compelled those who were offered a chance to live there, a sense of urgency to comply with the city, since, there was this proviso that symbolized the city's ultimate authority over the claim. It is noteworthy as well, since it laid a certain precondition as part of the compromise that limited the actions of activists from Dignity Village who were fighting for the village and for new camps in 2010-2011 when I was there. Much as the movement by VBC and other members of the "constellation" around Dignity had conditioned its possibility in 2000, this proviso by Saltzman, that no further camps should be allowed, echoes within current debates about the rights of homeless activists who struggle to open camps in Portland in the age of Housing First models announced first by Bush in 2003, and reiterated with changes by the Obama administration. It is in the debate between the city of Portland and Right to Dream 2, and it is implicit in the negotiations that other cities are making with current activists. They want to support the experimentation because it looks like they are being progressive, but they are doubtful of long-term or widespread benefits. There is some understanding too, that the growing

privatized supportive housing model had some ground to lose, should these alternatives become widely sanctioned.

In 2001, part of the compromise that is proving difficult for the village today, was the decision made within council to move the camp out of the city core, away from the view of good citizens, a move that gave the appearance of supporting the representational claim on space, but in reality was designed to limit the functionality of the activists by removing them from social supports and to limit their purview to a critical gentry in downtown. They had been moved seven times previously. Accepting this 'temporary-permanent' site as a compromise for the city's legal recognition of their claim to space, 60 people, the maximum number allowed on the land, moved to Sunderland yard. The first city-sanctioned, legal homeless community in the US, since the Great Depression, was in place. The city was doing something to be reasonable and law-abiding, but it was in no way ready to embrace the model as a permanent or featured spatialization of housing strategies.

I want to explain one more important facet that contributes to the analytics of space that conditions life in the present (2012-13) Dignity Village. The first decade of the 21st century was the decade of ten year plans to end homelessness. When George Bush became President in 2000, homelessness had come to be understood as pervasive and of myriad kinds. Among these, the problem of chronic homelessness, associated with street persons, and often with the undeserving poor, had come to be understood as the most troublesome and expensive form of homelessness.[47] The National Alliance to End Homelessness, which had grown from a group of 2000 or so community based providers to over 10,000, promoted the idea of a ten year plan to end homelessness in 2000.[48] The

director of HUD, looked at this initiative favorably, and in Bush's 2003 Budget, the plan was officially sanctioned and embraced as a major policy directive to encourage local communities and municipalities to find creative ways of addressing homelessness, especially chronic homelessness, and to end it, finally.

Under the new directive by Bush, USICH was re-endowed with significant discretionary power in allotting funds and incentives based on their adjudication of local ten year plans. Part of the plan was to encourage a better structural arrangement between different agencies. Hence, ten year plans appear in the form of federal, state, county and municipal packages, each of which defines a certain level of potential HUD funding and other incentives. By 2005, 50 of 54 states had adopted the plans. Close to 40 million dollars were slated for the new programs, while HUD financing of other homelessness projects remained at close to 1.3 billion dollars. USICH encouraged the participation of many groups in the process of developing these plans. These include, municipal/agency heads, charitable foundations, non-profits, hospital administrators, chronically homeless persons, the general public, developers and industry specialists and researchers. Since the turn of the millennium then, a sense that some of the worst off homeless were deserving of assistance appears to have been important to governments at all levels. One must ask, how far this recognition really went? In the simple mathematical sense, the United States has enough money to build the 250, 000 to 400,000 units of new housing (including family dwellings) that it is conservatively argued the US requires to satisfy the National need.[49] Unfortunately, it has not reached its goals. Within the context of local governments struggling to manage growing populations of homeless persons, a variety of institutional models play off against one another.

In the mid 2000's, Pathways to Home, understood commonly as Housing First stood off against treatment based continuum of care practices. With less than 50 million dollars available nationwide for inventive plans to help the chronically homeless, cities such as Portland were unlikely to resolve the problem of chronic street engaged homelessness through government funding or official housing models. The housing strategies under various neoliberal regimes, therefore, identify a problem, chronic homelessness, amongst various other types, and suggest the implementation of policies interpreted and executed at local levels in order to be effective. However, Leginski (2007) points out that despite such goals, a diverse and decentralized system existed whereby the competitive framing of granting programs, tended to perpetuate the disjointed efforts of myriad service providers and it is within this "de facto" system of service and programs that current efforts and programs are invigilated. There was so much overlap, repetition and competition between different models of housing strategy, that while cities scrambled to design and implement ten-year plans in order to avail themselves of HUD and USICH dollars, the next wave of new poor cast into the streets by the 2007-2008 recession, proved once again that homelessness was at its simplest most symptomatic expression, a problem with space; that is, cities did not provide adequate space for poor people to live. They needed affordable housing.

Since HUD distributes funds on a competitive basis between jurisdictions, the articulation of ten-year plans is vital to getting money, and seeks standardization across the various service providers. As a self-governing and incalculable resource, shantytowns have not been included in any of these ten-year plans. Yet, the city of Portland is to be commended for allowing this experimentation with space. When we

review the language of the contract in the next section, we will see how this experimentation has always been controlled by the city and mitigated by the logical tensions inherent to democracy.

While Dignity Village was being built out on Sunderland yard between 2002 – 2004, municipalities in Oregon were studying the ten-year plan model. The first of these studies was published in 2004 (PHA(B) 2004). In 2006, Oregon's first ten-year plan deliberations created The Ending Homelessness Advisory Council or EHAC, to inform and implement measures included in the ten year plan (Exec Order: 06-05). EHAC's 2009 report on the first year of implementation (2008) showed that homelessness in Oregon had increased by 37% over the year previous. This was blamed on the economic crisis, foreclosures and other economy related malfunctions. EHAC reported that Oregon had the highest number of homelessness per capita in the nation between 2008-9. More than 17,000 people, 43% of whom were in families with children, of whom more than 4300 were younger than 18 (ibid). The number of veterans in homelessness had doubled. 59% of the households enumerated had family members suffering from mental health or addiction issues. The report is somewhat vague, but it claims that despite these horrifying numbers, it had managed to create 200 units of permanent supportive housing and to have preserved housing for very low-income earners though no number is offered. Framed as "progress" in the direction of solving homelessness, these measures are touted as evidence of the capacity to "end and prevent the cycle of homelessness affecting families, children and youth, and single adults" (Oregon, EHAC 2009:3). This result was laughed at when I showed it to the members of the village. One villager said, "Well then, they

only need to provide 16, 800 or so more spaces. I guess. At this rate. Let's see, that'll be 17,000 divided by 200… well you see where I am going with this" (David Samson 2012).

6.6 An Analytics of Government

In this section I am going to look at how Dean's (1999, 2010) analytics of government addresses the "how" questions posed by governmentality studies. I am going to show you some of the many pages that accompanied the "claim," or rather that encoded the claim into the language of conventional governance. Some of the dates are askew of actual events as items were dated retroactively and inaccurately. The forms themselves were difficult to reproduce, and so they contain unusual typos and glitches that I could not control. The point behind this section is to show that at least from the point of view of those who govern, governmentality is a desirable state of affairs. Just as the village is governed by rules and codes, villagers are required to act according to the self-directed governing principles of the village. Much of what is written is idealistic and never happens, nor did it ever happen. The problem with governmentality studies, such as Dean's analytics and also with Boltanski's pragmatic sociology, is that they each use such codes and manuals as guides from which rational results are expected to occur or by which the failure of consignees is measured. I argue that even as the documents tied the critique that led to the village to extant regimes of power, the codes themselves are merely rituals of this broader agreement. They are rarely enforced, but serve as a sacred if not ultimate authority over the village that establishes their ultimate domination. They are witness to democracy's sovereign, in this case the city over the village, and the village council over its peers. The implication of this is that to rest itself of this encapsulation,

the village needs to push back – to find ways of putting pressure on the city so that the village can achieve some of the stated goals that require the city's help, but which have never been provided. This latter problem is the focus of the conclusion of this chapter. So here I start by showing some of the documentation and then suggesting how they might be understood within an analytics of government.

In his two versions of *Governmentality, Power and Rule in Modern Society*, (1999, 2010) Mitchell Dean introduces a formal analytics of power in order to bridge the gap between Foucault and methods. "An analytics of government thus views practices of government in their complex and variable relations to the different ways in which 'truth' is produced in social, cultural and political practices" (Dean 2010:27). The implications of this for understanding how actors act is that action is a reflection of governing; we do things according to what we take to be true of ourselves, and about whom we are, about who are others and what areas of the our world need improvement.[50]

The first step in an analytics of government is to identify the specific conditions under which the activity of governing becomes called into question. "Problematizations" of this nature are relatively rare (39), and are circumstance specific. So it is necessary to avoid looking at broad or global expressions of the " same" problem. An analytics of government looks at very specific situations where the "conduct of conduct" becomes difficult. The problematization often unites both the governor and the governed in questions about how each conducts itself. Hence, the Village Intake Committee (VIC).

First is the contract that was issued in 2007, but had been formulated in in 2003-4.

Fig. 21. **AGREEMENT FOR SERVICES CONTRACT NO.** 53015

This Agreement is between the City of Portland, acting by and through the City Council, (the City), and Dignity Village, an Oregon non-profit corporation (the Contractor).

RECITALS:

1. Homelessness is an ongoing national dilemma with an estimated three million people sleeping outside at some time during any given year. Portland's publicly funded year round homeless shelters have permanent waiting lists. Due to limited shelter space and a lack of affordable housing, many people in Portland have no practical alternative to homelessness. Despite on-going January. 2007, a study of the homeless within Portland counted over 1400 homeless people in Portland sleeping outside on one night.

2. In Resolution No. 36200, passed February 26, 2004, the Portland City Council designated a specific portion of property owned by the City, commonly known as Sunderland Recycling Facility, located at 9325 NE Sunderland Road, Tax Lot 100 1N1E12B (Tax Account R-315196), as a campground under the terms of ORS 446.265 (the "Designated Campground"). The intent of the City of Portland in contracting with Dignity Village is for the contractor to provide temporary housing for otherwise homeless individuals and to help its temporary residents find permanent housing.

3. Dignity Village is incorporated in Oregon as a non-profit corporation. Dignity Village has independently developed a proposal to provide an alternative to sleeping outside for the homeless within Portland. Local religious organizations, schools, philanthropists, architects, and others have combined to help Dignity Village develop a community approach to addressing homelessness. Due to on-going shortages of adequate shelter space and affordable permanent housing, the transitional housing accommodations provided by Dignity Village would be used by persons who lack permanent shelter, and who have not been placed into low-income housing.

4. The model for Dignity Village functions upon a democratically elected governance model for the administration of day-to-day operations and regulation. Dignity Village strives to generally provide some group services such as a kitchen, bathrooms and community telephones. Dignity Village, with the assistance of donated materials, equipment and labor, builds transitional housing structures that are capable of being transported from location to location. Dignity Village is the owner of these structures. Representatives from Dignity Village, including architects, have worked with the Bureau of Development Services in developing plans for transitional housing structures
that will comply with the requirements of ORS 446.265. Dignity Village provides residents with job
training opportunities, continuing education opportunities, healthcare, and access to housing placement assistance and a supportive environment in

> which homeless people are able to address the issues that led to them becoming homeless.
> 5. The City of Portland desires to have someone serve as manager for the Designated Campground. Dignity Village is willing to provide this management service as a steward of the property. Dignity Village will provide a unique and coordinated services program developed by Dignity Village. There is no other potential provider of the services with the experience, expertise,

By 2002, Dignity Village was under a construction boom, and proving itself capable of growth and government. While the village abandoned any grandiose community structural goals such as the large archway and the decorative flower gardens that the VBC had envisioned for them, they were organizing and building and creating a physical and social community. They had no permanent contract yet, but they were complying with codes and local laws, and defending themselves against opposition in the Oregonian Newspaper and most importantly their articles of incorporation were commensurate with the original operating agreement they had with the city. Between 2002 and 2005, the village's reputation grew widely and globally. Their list of supporters grew, including local business people, religious orders and scores of Portlanders who came to the village to build, paint and purchase recycled donations. The following item from the village is the intake committee's mandate. This is a document that lists the obligations and duties of a small group of village residents who will adjudicate who gets into the village or not. This is not like getting into a condo. The opposite of not getting into the village is a return to the streets. So the stakes are considerably higher, and in that sense the role of VIC is more important to social justice, than a condo board. Being on the committee gives one considerable power and influence in the village and it often places committee members in heated arguments with other

villagers. Often these are over whom to let in or not. I was surprised by how homeless people, villagers that is, would say anything to anyone to get in the way of another homeless person getting into the village, but they did it frequently. Villagers had in mind what the ideal villager-neighbor looked like, how they would act, and what they would bring to the village. This intake process is the would-be villagers first experience with the village governmentality.

Fig. 22. Sample of Village Intake Committee codes, Dignity Village.

> *The purpose of the Village Intake Committee (VIC)-is to review potential residents, to see if the Village can fit an individual in questions needs or if they may, perhaps, be better served by other options. VIC also works to meld individuals in question to the general planning needs and mission statement of Dignity Village Inc., as well as to assign and coordinate space allotment and monitor new additions to Dignity Village Inc., for a period of 30 days.*
>
> *VIC is a formally recognized standing committee of Dignity Village, Inc., that comes under the auspices of the Secretary of the Board of Dignity Village. The committee shall consist of not less than 4 or more than 7 Villagers. All such Villagers shall be members in good standing for not less than 90 days.*
>
> *The Chairman of the Board shall appoint the Chairman of the VIC committee the first two weeks after his/her election and work with the Chairman of VIC to appoint the balance of the committee. This committee shall need to be ratified by the Council of Dignity Village. In the event new members are needed or existing members either drop out or are not fulfilling their obligations, all additional members shall be voted on to the committee by the existing members, presented to the Council, and ratified at that time. If the VIC committee feels that one of its members is not fulfilling his/her obligations to the rest of the committee they*

> *may decide to remove that person or persons by a majority vote of the committee. No one person shall have more input or 'power" than any other member of the committee*
> *E). Inspector..shall faithfully attend all weekly held VIC meetings to the best of their abilities*
>
> *Inspect all structures before and after all individual's leave and provide a written report to the VIC committee. A copy of this report is to go to the Secretary of Dignity Village Inc. for their personal file, and a copy to the Secretary of the VIC committee.*
>
> *Identify and inventory all property left behind by former residents and guests, as well as protecting and coordinating its storage on an extremely short-term basis on '4t. The Inspector will ensure that all property is removed within 30 days of a written statement being issued not less than 14 days unless an individual in question contacts the Inspector or any member of the VIC Committee. A list of inventory shall be kept in the individual's personal file and a copy with the Secretary of VIC.*

The second priority is to examine as best as one might, all the conditions of possibility for a regime of practice of government. For understanding of the government of homeless persons this might include: income support, housing programs, rehabilitation programs, food banks, training programs, health and welfare organizations, experts, data collection by the state, debates amongst policy makers, laws and regulations, and many more. The problematization requires going beyond merely listing all the 'actors' and all the programs. "It is an attempt to understand how (such things) has to be *thought*" (39). Of special interest is how for example, political parties, ideological groups and activist organizations, bundle elements of such things into policy, or into "mission statements," that is; how a set of guiding principles can come to be associated with a particular party, interest group, and indeed within an individual subject.

This is an excerpt from the mission statement and proposal from 2001. This is

just one of 20 plus pages of how it ought to be thought. (Fig. 23.)

OVERVIEW: OUR VISION FOR DIGNITY VILLAGE

At a May 16, 2001 meeting with staff from City Commissioner Eric Sten's office and the Bureau of Housing and Community Development, Dignity Village representatives presented a letter of concern to City Co. missioner Eric Sten about their current situation In response, city officials asked the Dignity contingent to assemble a comprehensive outline for "taking Dignity to its next level of development." This is a working document prepared in response to that request, developed over several weeks, which will continue to be further developed over time. We feel the innovative collaboration outlined here represents a truly win/win strategy that, given a chance, will provide important benefits both to homeless residents and to the City of Portland.

Dignity Village has evolved and thrived over the past 6 months due in large part to its uniquely organic process. In this manner, we have efficiently implemented programs (such as the self-management structure and cooperative farm) that more rigid organizations might have taken years to get off the ground. This creative energy, motivated by basic human needs for shelter, food and water, is a key ingredient to our success thus far. As we plan for the future, it is imperative to retain this organic organizational dynamic, in order to insure that such creativity is allowed to flourish into the future.

Any organization - including Dignity Village - requires a structure, a clear vision, and detailed plans in order to navigate confidently into the future. This proposal assembles the shared ideas and dreams of our current residents and supporters into an organized planning document. In preparing this document, particular attention is given to addressing the kinds of "due diligence" issues that the City of Portland routinely poses to emerging organizations or new programs. Beyond such basic threshold requirements, however, this also provides narrative, site design, architectural, social and organizational components reflecting what Dignity Village has already achieved and can become in the future.

II. INTRODUCTION TO THE DIGNITY MODEL

Why Dignity Village Works:

A self-governed tent-village model has a number of advantages for everyone, particularly for homeless people, but also for taxpayers and businesses. In Portland, unless and until a homeless person becomes conventionally housed, there are basically only two options: (1) stay at a relatively conventional shelter (with curfews, early a.m. wakeups, close quarters, lack of privacy, lack of provisions for pets or couples to stay together, etc.), or (2) push a shopping cart around with your belongings all day and sleep in doorways or under
bridges at night to be subject to harassment by police or be victimized by street thugs. To
many homeless people, for whatever reasons, neither of these options is experienced as very attractive or helpful.

An urban tented village offers a third alternative that is preferable to many homeless people and is beneficial for the broader community as well, offering the following advantages:

- Villagers gain a sense of community and human connection
- Villagers enjoy a much safer environment, especially women, older people and people with disabilities or special needs
- Villagers are able to form stable affinity groups and longer-term relationships
- Villagers get to have pets
- Villagers gain the ability to cohabitate with spouses or intimate partners

Villagers find a sense of place, privacy, and personal space
Villagers recover from institutional dependency
Villagers enjoy a community-supported sanctuary from being criminalized due to very low economic status
Villagers work together to maintain a drug and alcohol free environment
Villagers use their skills, are enterprising and industrious
Villagers develop communication and leadership skills through involvement in the Village's self-governance
Business owners find less homeless people (not to mention their leavings) in their doorways
Taxpayers sleep better nights knowing that a very cost-effective and humane strategy for addressing homelessness was at least given a reasonable chance to prove itself, without being shut down prematurely by public officials
Even the police benefit by getting some positive press for a change, by cooperating with Village security to maintain a safe site

Precedents: Seattle and Los Angeles:

The Dignity Village model is not without precedent. On the West Coast alone, at least two other tent cities have moved to more advanced stages of development(DV 2001- as of 203 both are gone.).

Dean suggests that a an analytics of government stands out from other theories of government by paying less attention to questions such as; "who" governs, on what legitimate grounds, and what form does that rule manifest? Rather an analytics is conditioned by a desire to understand how unique locales, authorities and actors are constructed, and interrelated, and how governable domains are constructed and administered. (40). It is essentially an ethnographic approach, in the sense of writing culture. An analytics of power benefits from the destabilization of the locus of power at the apex of political and civic relationships, and therefore anticipates the shifting, rhizomatic and unpredictable actual networks, connections and assemblages that unite regimes of practice and subjects in social and material ways. The articles of incorporation and the mission statement of the village, the contract from the city and various legal notices between both parties, provide a mapping of the ideas and the agencies responsible for negotiating their outcome. In effect, Dean suggests, an analytics asks, "what happens" when we are governed or govern? What does it look like

when we try to imagine the relations of influence and tension that governing produces? The question of how agents with particular abilities and identities are formed, leads one to ask, how practices and techniques, rationalities and knowledge contribute to governing.[51]

Within an analytics of government, there are four basic dimensions to the "how questions." The first element of this suggests looking at how regimes of practice encode and visualize the tasks and subjects of their tasks. I argue that these are best understood as the housing policies and ten-year plans that currently shape the dominant strategies. In Dignity Village, this includes such artifacts as, conceptual planning drawings, flow charts, blueprints, contracts, which are ways of visualizing the "fields" to be managed, making it possible to see "who and what is to be governed"(41).[52]

(Sample of original city contract with Dignity Village – Note that transitional and a time frame are not specified in the early contract. (Fig. 24)

I. Scope of Services
The Subrecipient shall provide the following services:

1. Transitional campground

Subrecipient shall provide management services for the Designated Campground at Sunderland Recycling Facility.

Subrecipient will, under the Agreement, have authority to administer, manage, and operate the Designated Campground, and to control the use, maintenance, services or other matters relating to the Designated Campground, subject to the provisions and limitations of the Agreement. Specifically, Subrecipient shall:

2. Operate the campground for the specific and sole purpose of providing temporary shelter to persons who cannot locate safe, decent affordable permanent housing and are otherwise homeless.

3. To the extent practicable, assist residents of the campground with locating and transitioning to safe, decent, affordable permanent housing. Assistance shall include, but not be limited to, permitting access to the campground by programs that assist homeless persons with locating and accessing permanent affordable housing.

4. Accommodate up to 60 persons for short-term emergency housing with sleeping areas, adjoining bathrooms, showers, kitchen, computer room and a separate but adjoining lounge area.

5. Adopt reasonable and low-barrier admission criteria. Subrecipient will provide a current copy of these criteria to the City Contract Manager.

6. Keep the Designated Campground open at all reasonable times to:

7. On-going, routine and frequent site visits by the Portland Fire Bureau and the Bureau of Development Services. These Bureaus will use Exhibit C in their evaluation;

8. Site visits by the Portland Police Bureau;

9. Entry onto the site by the City's Bureau of Maintenance for on-going, routine and frequent maintenance of the City's infrastructure at the site. Subrecipient will cooperate with these bureaus' in their performance of these duties.

10. Maintain the Designated Campground in a safe and sanitary condition, including providing routine and on-going cleaning of the grounds after any pets and undertaking all necessary repairs and maintenance. All maintenance …

From the perspective of government, visualizing and mapping a field are connected practices (Dean 20120:41); clinical medial practices visualize the body as the site of a disease model for addictions; it is healthcare services that isolate the infected, the street homeless, the junkies, in political and special spaces by discerning who they are and keeping track of their whereabouts (41). Hence a key component of governmentality studies are to discern the way objects of governance are imagined, visualized as good, bad, deserving or undeserving and placed within the strategies of government. In this sense, we need to understand how the spatialization of the village represents power values that are part of the rational practices of government. The following excerpt from the original contract indicates some of these concerns (Fig 25):

1. Minors shall not be allowed to remain as residents at the Designated Campground, but minors may enter as guests for periods of not longer than twelve (12) hours and
    a. Minor children must be supervised at all times by a designated parent/guardian or caregiver.
    b. If minor children are staying with parent/guardian, there may be no other guests staying within the household's structure when children are present
    c. Parents/guardians must show proof of guardianship (i.e. this does not apply to "street families")
    d. Dignity Village will ensure that there is a current background check on designated parent/guardian or caregiver.
    e. Minor children may not stay with parent/guardian for more than 3 nights within a 30 day period (month to month)
    f. Parent/guardian and caregiver must be members in good standing for 90 days.
        1. Dignity Village may impose additional rules and requirements that are not within the scope of the Management Agreement with the City of Portland.
    ii. All residents shall be given on-going training on fire safety, with assistance from the Portland Fire Marshall's Office. At least twice yearly, Subrecipient shall

hold a fire drill in which all residents will participate. Upon request, Subrecipient must display proof of twice yearly fire drills. New residents shall be given a fire safety orientation as they arrive.

2. Subrecipient shall immediately notify the Bureau of Transportation of any unsafe or threatening person or situation at the campground that could potentially harm the Sunderland Recycling Facility's property, operation, employees or visitors. In such instances, Subrecipient shall call the Bureau's Maintenance Dispatch Center at 503-823-1700, or such other phone number as the bureau may later designate.

A second element concerns the technical aspect of government (42). Dean refers to this as the *techne*. This requires looking at "the mechanisms, procedures, instruments, tactics, techniques, technologies, and vocabularies" that constitute the authority and the means by which rule is achieved (42). Here is the first page of the Articles of Incorporation (Fig 26).

Articles of Incorporation
NONPROFIT ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
OF DIGNITY VILLAGE, INC.

The undersigned natural persons of the age of eighteen years or more, acting as an Incorporate under the Oregon Nonprofit Corporation Law, adopt the following Articles of Incorporation:

The name of this corporation is Dignity Village, Inc. and its duration shall be perpetual.

The purposes for which this Corporation is organized are exclusively charitable and educational and consist of the following:

(A) The specific and primary purposes are:

(1) To create a safe, clean, self-governed community environment for economically distressed residents of the State of Oregon, through establishment of an open-air place where people living on the streets can have their basic needs met in a stable, sanitary environment, until they are able to access another form of housing more in keeping with said resident's personal goals and aspirations.

(2) To promote community wide interest and concern for homeless and other economically distressed residents of the State of Oregon, to the end that:

(a) their quality of life may be improved,(b) their educational and economic opportunities may be improved, (c) sickness, poverty and crime may be lessened,(d) all constitutional and human rights of all people are respected and protected,(e) mutual interdependence of all people may be recognized, and(f) the mutual aid among, by and for poor people may be facilitated.

The third element is what he refers to as the *episteme* or the forms of knowledge that inform the activity of government (42). In this, governmentality studies ask how truth is produced by the creation of knowledge by government. The means by which

statistics contribute to measuring a distribution of populations, the debates between experts and politicians, all forms of rationalizing the conditions said to be true of given governable task or population relate to the episteme. Such knowledge is concrete; it appears in graphs, maps, contracts, assessments and the like.

Newspaper articles, chat forums about poverty, public protests, research papers and self-reporting requirements from the village are ways that governance "understands" Dignity Village, and also how it comes to understand itself. It is also fixed in time - it is exists as a record of thought at a given time, and provides the link between "govern" and "mentality' mentioned earlier; it produces the "hybrid' *governmentality*. Below is an excerpt from the contract that indicates the reporting requirements of the village to the city. Even though these records were rarely filled out adequately in the past, they reflect the obvious role the village plays in keeping tabs on Portland's homeless. Since the latest Assessment in 2010, the city has demanded these forms be filled out each month and submitted, reflecting the growing *desire* of the city to rationalize the effectiveness of the village within its informal strategies that might at some point append ten-year plans to end homelessness, or to use the data to close it down at some point. The fear amongst village leadership is that the data is rarely good. As Brad Gibson, CEO in 2012-2013 suggests. "It can't look good that every month we lose people back to the streets." The 2010 assessment discussed later, shows that in fact, of the people who leave there, only about 18% find housing of some kind.

Fig. 27. Excerpt -Quarterly report. The village usually fails to submit them.

6. Reasons for leaving. Of those residents who left during the quarter, how many left for the following reasons? If a person left for multiple reasons, include only the primary reason.

Reason for Departure:	7/01/12-9/30/12	10/1/12-12/31/12	1/1/13-3/31/13	4/1/13-6/30/13	YTD
Total # of individuals who					

departed in quarter					
# who departed voluntarily	6				
# who departed for rules violations	1				
# who departed – unknown reason	7				

7a. Length of stay. For those residents who left during the quarter, how many were there for the following lengths of time?

	7/01/12-9/30/12	10/1/12-12/31/12	1/1/13-3/31/13	4/1/13-6/30/13	YTD
Less than 1 month	1				
1 to 2 months	1				
3 – 6 months					
7 months – 12 months	1				
13 months – 24 months	2				
25 months – 3 years					
4 years – 5 years	1				
6 – 7 years	1				
8 – 10 years					

7b. Length of stay. For those residents living at the Village on the last day of the quarter, how long have they been at the Village?

	7/01/12-9/30/12	10/1/12-12/31/12	1/1/13-3/31/13	4/1/13-6/30/13
Total # of individuals on the last day of the qtr	50			
Less than 1 month	3			
1 to 2 months	1			
3 – 6 months	4			
7 months – 12 months	3			
13 months – 24 months	12			
25 months – 3 years	17			
4 years – 5 years	7			
6 – 7 years	1			
8 – 10 years	2			

Dean points out, that the 'welfare state' was less a concrete arrangement of institutions, than it was the reflection of thought about how to arrange certain institutions, personnel

and incentives around an ideal of government. The ideal of government we are confronted with in the current context of Dignity Village is rapid rehousing. Neoliberalism, too, is less an attack on specific institutions than it is a "problematization of certain ideals of government, diagrams of citizenship, and the formulas of rule they generate" (43). An important part of episteme is the intentional organization of institutional spaces, the rituals and routines associated with them, and the conduct of actors in specific ways to produce programmes of conduct, which are in short, attempts to regulate and improve what occurs in specific regimes of practice.

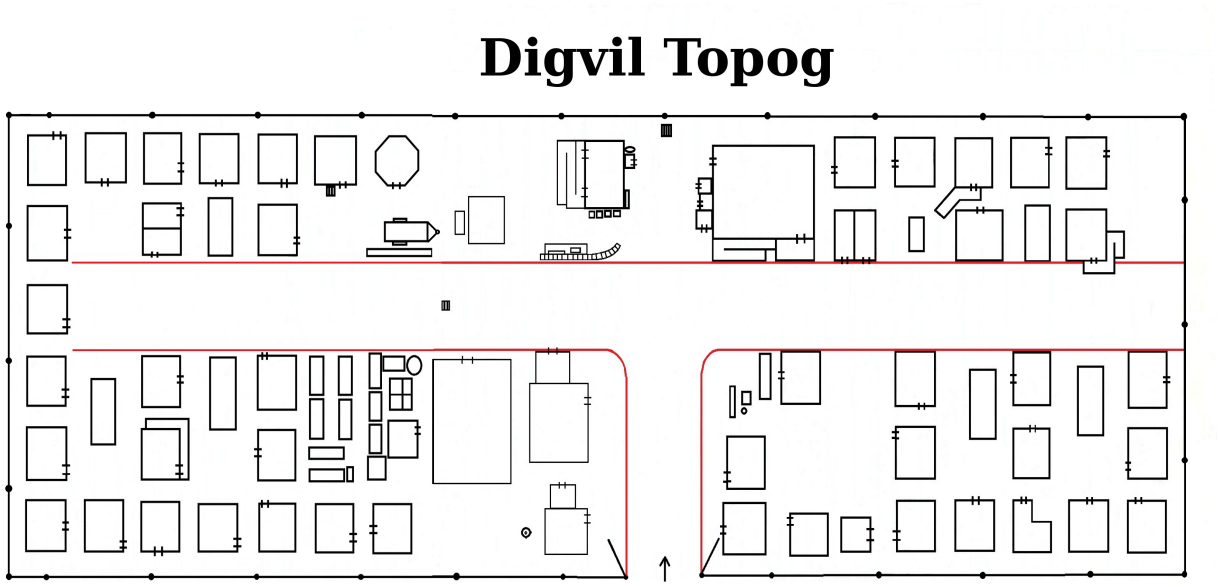
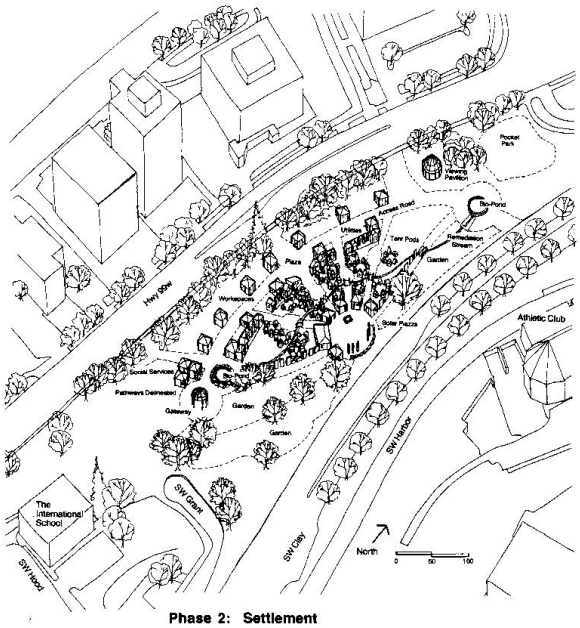


Fig. 28. Village Site Map Above Current as of 2011 and Schematic (2001).



Phase 2: Settlement

* Pathways & access road delineated.
* Public places established & defined by common functions.
* Large tents sited to accomodate social services & work areas.
* Tent areas established.
* Gateways & site features established, including gardens & waterways.
* Portable utilities installed.
* Pocket Park begins construction.

Above, (Fig. 29.) the original aerial site plan, and site map from contract. Any unlicensed variance and the city can shutter the village. Inhabitation, cohabitation, land use, emergency shelter allotments, fire zones and codes, waste removal, physical appearance, liability and corporate insurance, site inspections and yearly updated site maps, are all means by which external governance ensures that the village is a good corporate citizen. The village is not located near the city nor does it look anything like this today.

The final dimension asks how specific programmes of government seek to transform, moderate or identify specific ideas about the self and identity. What attributes come to be attached to authoritative or citizen identities? What duties and obligations are produced for those who govern and those who are governed? Far from locking an individual into a specific identity, governmentality assumes that individuals can occupy

many subjective positions relative to these various rights and obligations. Care of the self entails understanding the myriad dimensions of subjectivity that intersect one's real life.

This approach is especially amenable to understanding the homeless. Whereas critical theory and theories of state tend to imply a complicit overpowered person defined by their poverty, this Foucauldian approach suggests understanding how multiple facets of identity and experience combine to produce what are arguably unique conditions of possibility. Sexuality, philosophical knowledge, religion, citizenship, imagination, innovation, complacency as examples, meth addiction, pot-addiction, are dimensions of subjectivity that vary across persons and fields. So one might phrase questions, as Dean does following Maffesoli (1991, in Dean 2010:44): "How is someone who buys goods at a supermarket to be made to identify as a consumer?" Or, for the purposes of this dissertation, how might a marginalized, traumatized homeless person made to become a consumer of the shelter system, or on the other hand, directed towards fighting for housing as an activist citizen? How does the ethnographic arrangement of homeless persons inform their sense of deserving or undeserving freedoms? Once again, Dean asks, for example, "How are we all to become good citizens?"(44).[53] The questions villagers are asking themselves today, as I stated in chapter one, are exactly, "what does it mean to be a Dignity Villager?" Does being a member mean adhering to a dubiously worded contract imposed on the villager, or should a villager fight for the sustainable, green and safe village, such as the founders did? These questions are the core of the crisis of community the village faces today. This strange identity suggests a confused village subjectivity that struggles to understand freedom and domination as two sides of a single coin.

In the case of Dignity Village, the combination of available land, activist, church, and popular support and a sympathetic regime aligned to create the conditions of its possibility. It currently must reposition itself and rebrand villagers to accommodate a new contract that emphasizes its transitional role in a changing governmentality of housing. Below is a new amended contract. The italicized/bolded areas indicate where the language has changed to reflect the current attitude of the city towards the Dignity Villagers. Section A, subsection, 3 is especially troublesome for villagers since it establishes transition as a requirement of residence, but offers no guarantee of transition. This perpetual incapacity for transition is at the root of the problem with liminality in the village, and constitutes a certain institutionalization of limbo as the human condition of living in the village. We discuss this in the conclusions because the two bolded areas of this contract represent a knew ideological shift in the city; a shift that occurred concomitantly with the federal incentives for Housing First, and have cast the reality of Dignity Village in a different light within the constellation of possibility in Oregon. Item 3 in Subsection A, page 278 below is the latest and most significant threat to villagers. It might be that a threat is exactly what they need to get the critical moment started again. (Fig. 30. New Contract)

> 1. ***By the end of November 2012, Dignity Village will be required to submit a completed, revised site plan that lays out structure, pathways, etc. This will be added as Exhibit D to the contract and must be approved/initialed by the Dignity Village Board Chair, and authorized staff from BDS, Fire, and PHB.***
> 2. Maintain written guidelines governing the use of the Designated Campground, which will be incorporated into an entrance agreement and signed by each resident, as appropriate. Contractor will provide a current copy of the entrance agreement and written rules to the City, together with any amendments or modifications to those rules.

3. Post the Designated Campground rules, as well as grievance procedure and policy, in a visible location. The written rules shall address at least the following:

    a. No resident or guest of the Designated Campground shall threaten any person, whether resident, neighbor, guest, invitee or City employee, or engage in conduct that subjects any such person to alarm, including but not limited to, conduct that involves the use of abusive or threatening language or gestures.

    b. No resident or guest shall vandalize, deface or destroy any City property, or engage in conduct that degrades the appearance of City property, including conduct that would constitute Offensive Littering under ORS 164.805.

    c. No resident or guest shall possess any weapon or any similar instrument that can be used to inflict injury upon a person or damage to property, except to the extent permitted by Oregon law.

    d. When present at the Designated Campground, no resident or guest shall engage in any criminal behavior as defined by the State of Oregon or the City of Portland.

    e. Residents may not use, possess or share alcoholic beverages, illegal drugs, controlled substances or prescription drugs without a medical prescription, on or at the Designated Campground or within the Sunderland Recycling Facility. Residents may not allow guests to use, possess or share alcoholic beverages, illegal drugs, controlled substances or prescription drugs without a medical prescription at the Designated Campground or within the Sunderland Recycling Facility.

    f. Minors shall not be allowed to remain as residents at the Designated Campground, but minors may enter as guests for periods of not longer than twelve (12) hours and
        i. Minor children must be supervised at all times by a designated parent/guardian or caregiver.
        ii. If minor children are staying with parent/guardian, there may be no other guests staying within the household's structure when children are present
        iii. Parents/guardians must show proof of guardianship (i.e. this does not apply to "street families")
        iv. Dignity Village will ensure that there is a current background check on designated parent/guardian or caregiver.
        v. Minor children may not stay with parent/guardian for more than 3 nights within a 30 day period (month to month)
        vi. Parent/guardian and caregiver must be members in good standing for 90 days.

vii. Dignity Village may impose additional rules and requirements that are not within the scope of the Management Agreement with the City of Portland.

4. All residents shall be given on-going training on fire safety, with assistance from the Portland Fire Marshall's Office. At least twice yearly, Contractor shall hold a fire drill in which all residents will participate. Upon request, [sic] Subrecipient must display proof of twice-yearly fire drills. New residents shall be given a fire safety orientation as they arrive.

5. Contractor shall immediately notify the Bureau of Transportation of any unsafe or threatening person or situation at the campground that could potentially harm the Sunderland Recycling Facility's property, operation, employees or visitors. In such instances, Contractor shall call the Bureau's Maintenance Dispatch Center at 503-823-1700, or such other phone number as the bureau may later designate.

A. For the purposes of Portland City Code 5.36.115, Contractor is designated as a "person in charge" for excluding persons from the Designated Campground for violations of the written rules. As a designated "person in charge," Contractor may lawfully direct persons to leave the Designated Campground.

1. Contractor shall be responsible for enforcing and administering its written rules established in Section I.A.9a-f, as may be amended from time to time. Any failure by the Contractor to routinely and adequately enforce and administer the written rules shall constitute a breach of the Agreement.

2. Contractor shall not allow more than 60 residents to occupy the Designated Campground at any time. Contractor shall maintain a register of all residents, including such information as may be needed to perform Contractor's reporting requirements under Section II.A.1-10. For purposes of the Agreement, a resident is any person who has the intention to remain at the Designated Campground for twenty-four hours for sleeping, bathing, cooking, or use of restroom facilities. During the limited times when the City has declared a severe winter shelter overflow, Contractor may allow 10 additional residents for a total of 70 residents at the Designated Campground.

3. It is expected that Dignity Village residents will remain at the Campground for as short a period of time as possible while they seek out community services and affordable permanent housing. The City holds the discretion to either shorten or lengthen a maximum time that residents may remain at the Campground. Contractor must establish written rules that residents may not live at the Campground for longer than 24 months after the date of November 1 2012. If a person became a resident on November 1 2012 they would need to find other housing arrangements by October 31 2014. If an

individual is in an active housing search and/or active in Village leadership, Dignity Village may request an extension and the City Contract Manager can make individual exceptions to this.

Make note of the above bolded clause. It is the ticking clock, the supreme outing of democracy's attachment to sovereignty, and the impossibility of a generalized sense of freedom that does not require the suppression of (some) others. Finally, Dean's analytics tenders the proposition that conditions of freedom and domination coexist within regimes of government. Further that an analytics of government does not have its goal the ideal that all human subjects should be emancipated from governing. Avoiding this radical position is essential because an analytics of government seeks to understand how subjects are both dominated and liberated within systems of governing.

During 2009-10, the city hired an outside agency to assess the village. The 2010 Village Assessment notes that despite the praiseworthy goals expressed in the mission statement, even villagers debate the village's ability to deliver such lofty and idyllic promises. The assessment also notes many ways that the city can help the village achieve its goals. To this day, that has not happened. The city in an interview in 2011, stated that the village had not reached out for this help - the villagers argued they had reached many times but had not been heard. As of this writing, Israel Bayer, publisher of Street Roots and activist had said, "No one needs to hear them stuck way out here, on a tarmac" and this speaks to the out of sight out of mind proposition I began with. So the village must find its voice and a way to deliver it. The assessment was surprisingly in favor of the village. The following excerpts are noteworthy (Fig. 31. 2009 PHB Assessment Excerpt):

"In contrast to traditional Transitional Housing programs, however, residents and supporters emphasize that one of the Village's strengths is that it allows residents the flexibility to stabilize on their own timelines and on their own terms. For some people,

this can happen in a month, for others it takes much longer. An essay on Dignity Village's website explains, "So now that I have this home, will I stay forever? No. The Village is my home until I am able to move on with my life, and soon, I hope. The average stay in Dignity Village is 18 months. Many stay for less, and a few stay longer. For now, this is the only home we know."

The majority of the residents and stakeholders interviewed for this report described the Village as transitional or temporary. But for a small number of residents, the very notion of the Village as "transitional housing" is offensive. From their perspective, the Village is about having a home and a community. They view Dignity Village as an autonomous, semi-permanent "village", similar to co-housing. As one long-time resident put it, "For people who have been here for a while, this is home. . . If you come here and decide to stay, nobody should be able to tell you to leave. This is not transitional housing, and not a campground. It's a village. This is our home."

These divergent views of the Village's mission shape the way residents and stakeholders evaluate the Village's outcomes. The differences in their perspectives make it difficult to know how to measure the Village's success. If we are comparing it to emergency shelter or the streets, the yardstick is very different than if we are comparing it to Transitional Housing programs or co-housing" (PHB 2010:7).

Since I have been speaking of liminality and transitional from a theoretical point of view, in Oregon Law, this is what transitional means (Fig. 31. in part):

(38) "Transitional housing accommodations" means accommodations described under ORS 446.265.

(2)

Transitional housing accommodations described under subsection (1) of this section shall be limited to persons who lack permanent shelter and cannot be placed in other low income housing**. A municipality may limit the maximum amount of time that an individual or a family may use the accommodations.**

(3)

Campgrounds providing transitional housing accommodations described under this section may be operated by private persons or nonprofit organizations. The shared facilities of the campgrounds are subject to regulation under the recreation park specialty code described under ORS 446.310 (Definitions for ORS 446.310 to 446.350) to 446.350 (Tourist Facility Account). The transitional housing accommodations are not subject to ORS chapter 90.

(4)

To the extent deemed relevant by the Department of Consumer and Business Services, the construction and installation of yurts on campgrounds used for providing transitional housing accommodations established under this section is subject to the manufactured structures specialty code described in ORS 446.155 (Sanitation and safety requirements). Transitional housing accommodations not appurtenant to a yurt are subject to regulation as provided under subsection (3) of this section.

The assessment provides other data as well. Unlike the streets, the village is over 90% white; like the streets most of the residents are men, aged 31-50, but there are more women and couples. The village is safer for single women, and couple friendly unlike the shelters, and in fact, it is safer, statistically, then all other parts of Portland, because villagers constantly monitor each other's behavior (PHB 2010:8-10, also from my notes 2011). The assessment also speaks to the many deficiencies in the village, many of which I have addressed; poor location, poor service infrastructure, lack of supports and toxicity from the compost facilities to name but a few. But by its completion, at the end of 2009, and into early 2010, the village was delighted at the recommendation for a contract extension, and support for the move to a greener permanent location. When I entered the village for the fist time in 2010, then, as it prepared for a city inspection and experienced the place alive and vibrant, it was partly because they understood themselves as part of viable strategy with real potential within the broader strategies to end homelessness. There was no real need to fight anymore. No reason to stay united with other homeless communities. They collectively thought they were going to get a long term contract with the provision of a new safer permanent location.

Dignity Village had been officially assessed and placed within an imaginary orbit of housing strategies. In 2010, when I first went there, no one mentioned activism or homeless rights unless I asked them about it. They were convinced they were a community, a village called Dignity, and that they had earned their future place in broader community experience of Portland. I say imaginary because despite the contract, despite the promissory language in the assessment, Dignity Village is not recognized or alluded to in any of the actual EHAC planning strategies or language. EHAC announced

its first ten-year plan in 2007, the same year Dignity was officially contracted, but the village is not part of the official plan. This is because, I want to argue, it is not *Housing First,* but a shelter in the imaginary of housing governance, and shelters are not part of the long term ideology presented in the rapid rehousing concept of ten-year plans. Dignity Village, is legal. It is contractual. It is transitional, emergency housing, even with the complicated understandings of what it represents to villagers and which I referred to in the above quote. To governance, as Israel Bayer said on August 12 2013, in a phone interview,

"It is unlikely that the city is ever going to officially recognize the village because they can't explain the village to their critics. It's not just out there (by the airport) It is "out there," no one can say what it is or what's going on in there."

While the original EHAC (2007, 2008) documents include images and plans for several supportive housing projects in line with the needs of the aged, the medically or psychiatric affected homeless and families, intentional communities are not even referred to as possibilities. This lack of recognition does not go unnoticed and contributed to a growing anxiety over the possibility of eviction in Dignity Village in 2010 after I had left and discussions of the new contract some of which you read, were proposed. It is also very important to note that during that time despite increases in funding for homeless projects, the problem has become worse.

"Despite the influx of American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) dollars, Oregon witnessed an increase in the number of people experiencing homelessness, rising from 17 122 in 2009 to 22 111 individuals in January 2011. (EHAC 2011)

This means that during the period in which I did my advance field trip in 2010 and my extended fieldwork in July of 2011, homelessness was on the rise all over Oregon, and Portland, such as any major city in a period of economic decline became a hub for those

seeking assistance and solidarity on the streets. On a walk through Portland with a writer named Tyler, I commented on how I had not seen so many homeless people on the streets, sleeping on benches and in parks, since my days on the streets in Toronto. He had travelled from the east to west coast stopping in 15 cities as part of a Masters thesis: a blog about the streets in these cities. He explained to me that everywhere, from New York to Portland where he had stopped, he had seen alarming numbers of people on the streets, living in their cars and overflowing at shelters. We had met at Dignity Village because he had heard in each of the places he visited of this legal camp on the west coast. He had remarked after being at the village to check it out, that the people seemed lost, as lost as the street poor. "Worse'" he said, "at least on the streets, people want to get out of there. No one seems to know what they want out here (at the village)."

The EHAC plan also notes an increase in the homeless population of over 75% between 2002 and 2007 with mental health indicators rising over 120% (EHAC 2008). Oregon's Ten-Year plan has 6 broad goals:

1. Prevent and divert people from becoming homeless.
2. Expand supply of affordable housing and supportive services.
3. Build capacity of persons experiencing homelessness through strategies that identify their risks and needs, and help them access appropriate housing and supportive services.
4. Identify and implement system of improvements for coordination at the program funding and delivery levels leading of measurable results.
5. Implement education and public campaign initiatives to remove societal stigma about homelessness to build community support and coordinated responses.
6. Improve data collection and methodology to better account for homeless persons.

Within the plan several action strategies are listed (EHAC 2008). Amongst these Action 8 stipulates that SB 200 (Senate Bill) establishes Housing First and rapid re-housing as the preferred response to homelessness. Commensurate with an explicit

preference in Obama's Homelessness Prevention and Rapid Re-housing Program, current (2013) ten-year plans in order to be competitive must present Housing first as a priority within their strategies. Within the context of the plan, goals include, standardized measurements of homelessness, equalizing the process for adjudicating claims made through various community agencies by people seeking assistance and to effect a psychic shift in the mainstream social imaginary about homelessness, to redress the stigma attached to being homeless (2008:17). Understanding these goals, the next chapter asks villagers to discuss how they imagine the village.

6.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has shown that the critical action of Dignity housing activists was an historically conditioned and successful displacement of power; the critique of housing by the activists did make room in the city's own critique of housing, for the site, Dignity Village. This was achieved by governors imposing a variety of spatial and temporal codes for living on the village, which set out the discourse for conduct of conduct in the village. Foucauldians and non-Foucauldians alike can see how this simple view of the state of affairs fits nicely into critiques of governmentality. The records and transcripts I have shared, however, indicate a stable set of affairs that does not exist, not even closely. Village life is anything but the well-conducted world that governmentality implies. Actions there are just too random, too sporadic, sometimes, too few or non-existent in the sense that people do not care for themselves, to simply say "Oh it's governmentality" and walk away from the study. The lack of government is not just about drugs, sometimes it is about ideas, conflicts over resources or coveted things, sometimes it is about old

friendships and loyalties that carry over from the street, but the critical attitudes in the village that align people to one another and around which they create critiques of the village, rarely transcend what goes on there, as matters of daily living. Their attitude is about what is wrong with the village or their neighbor, and rarely about poverty, housing or other homeless people who do without shelter. As alternative to the shelters and the streets as the village is, it signed a contract to govern poor people, and is not a site of resistance to neoliberal critique of poverty, but an adjunct to it.

Activists did punch a hole in the city's power. And they inserted into its purview, a democratically self-governed community, that spoke to the one transcendent ideal I could find in the village, and that was a sense of *The American Way*, which villagers understand to mean a mélange of democracy, freedom and liberty, and which John Boy and others have discussed in the samples I gave as the right to choose, to roam freely, and to be anything they want to be. Clearly this belief is partly delusional, partly fantasy, and partly because of how strongly experienced is patriotism amongst the villagers. The fact that they have the right to their own community is evidence to them of this freedom. They rarely develop a sophisticated understanding of how the community does a favor for city power, while barely meeting villagers' needs. In this case, I have argued that the activist citizen, as modeled by Isin and Nielsen, existed for a short period, starting with the occupations and mobile marches, and ending in the signing of the contract. This is not to say that the activist citizen could not reappear. Most of us who have been advising the village have been tying to make that happen.

Still the village is a result of critique making room in extant power. However, making room, in this case required a compromise, which as Boltanski has warned us can

lead to problems down the road when the nature of the inherent critical contradictions become lived and understandable. In this case, the village is crippled by a fear of appearing to be too resistant to the city, which with its sovereign power secured in the contract, might shutter the place. This is a very real fear that villagers express. The critical contradiction in this sense then, is that the village leaders and membership do not fight for their rights, even though democracy demands that they do. Instead of carrying their own plans for fixing the community and moving in the directions of the assessment, they sit back and wait for the city to impose its ideas on them. Therefore, they appear to be in a subordinate and dominated position, but this is their own doing, or not-doing rather. If nothing else, the fights that R2DTOO and Opportunity Village have presented in recent months, and Dignity's own legacy, give evidence of the power of resistance. These other sites are counter-sites, they are acts of resistance, and they are pushing power around. Dignity signed their own fate by letting the city define the limits of self-determination, and then worse perhaps, accepting the steady decay and perpetual liminality of the space as inevitable and immutable. In the next chapter we will explore these places and spaces of resistance in more detail.

I think this section has shown fairly clearly that the act itself, was a short-lived affair, and was as a break with habitus, an act in the sense both Bakhtin and Isin have described. That the tactical displacement of power was bi-directional, each critical position producing a fairly stable set of affairs in the compromise, however, suggests that critical displacement was absorbed or buffered perhaps by the city – the city was resisting the growing momentum of the critique. On the one hand the city told the protestors where to go and how to govern, and secured this dominance in the language of the

contract and other codes. They enforce these codes through site visits and by entertaining a long drawn out series of inspections each time the contract is up for renewal. And this contract looms like the sword of the monarch as a sovereign reminder of who is the boss. Villagers, as of the time I wrote this, have been scrambling to find ways to appear *deserving* of yet another contract. On the other hand, there is no reason to say that the critique that produces intentional camps is dead. In fact it is perhaps more alive today than it was in 2001, in the sense that several camps are officially bidding for contracts with cities. So I will spend most of the following chapter explaining how liminality has produced this sense in the village that their part in social critique is dead. They have forgotten, collectively how to act critically because the ties they had to critical leaders have been lost for some time. To flesh this out, I will revisit liminality, heterotopias, representational space, communitas and Thirdspace, in order to re-open the critical possibilities produced by liminal space-worlds. Ambiguity is a threat to established ways of doing, by which I mean to say that the conventional world governed by practices, sees in their unknown qualities, the potential for what we have discussed as acts, and thereby regards these places as dangerous. Feared by conventional imaginaries, precisely for the unknown capacities they possess, this ambiguity threatens power, so it must also possess this capacity; how then, can the villagers become empowered?

Endnotes – Chapter Six: Pages 377- 469.

[1] http://www.nlchp.org/program.cfm?prog=4
Excerpt: "Increasingly, cities across the nation are implementing punitive measures to sweep homeless people out of downtown areas. Laws that make it illegal to do things

that people experiencing homelessness must do as a result of their homeless status ultimately 'criminalize' homelessness, such as the prohibition of sleeping, sitting, or storing personal belongings in public spaces that some states have adopted.

[2] For Castoriadis, the social imaginary is pre-logical, a function of the individual's readiness to perceive and need to organize difference, yet is also conditioned by the forms of reason employed by a society at a given time and place. Castoriadis says:
"This element - which gives a specific orientation to every institutional system, which over determines the choice and the connection of symbolic networks, which is the creation of each historical period, ….the basis for articulating what does matter and what does not, the origin of the surplus of being of the objects of practical, affective and intellectual investment…is nothing other than the imaginary of the society or of the period considered" (1987:145).

[3] Furthermore, he argued that the recognition of diversified spatial meanings, is a departure from Cartesian models of space that cannot imagine spatial items without a body – in the sense that "We attribute a generic unity to the extension of the space, so that when the body which fills the space has been changed, the extension of the space itself is not considered to have been changed but to remain the same; as long as it remains of the same size and shape and maintains the same situation among certain external bodies by which we specify that space (Pr II 10f). Putting aside the Cartesian "physical" model of space opened the door to include other dimensions in which the "occupation" of imaginary space by, concepts, ideas and philosophies for example, might be incorporated into understanding society as a sort of multidimensional spatialization of diverse characteristics of thoughts and culture. For Lefebvre, the leap from Cartesian bounded space had opened up the question of the spatial to broader conceptualization which in itself was not an egregious mistake. He argued that a great deal of attention to claims of "mental space" had been made, claims that included notions of ideological spaces, literary space and so on, but such epistemological studies suffered from a lack of any cohesion from which to draw conclusions about space, and most importantly, they lacked key ideas, "not only the idea of 'man' but also that of space—the fact that 'space' is mentioned everywhere not withstanding"(3).

[4] See item 8

[5] In the last two years, the numbers of veterans on the streets and the numbers of families spared street-engagement have declined because of the employment of the *Housing First Model* that uses vacancies in the conventional rental market and a combination of funds from federal, state and local donors to place homeless people in housing directly right out of homelessness, and also because of expansion of the shelter programs in many cities. (NAEH 2012; US Gov't. (HUD) 2012) However, while the plan also provides incentives to local governments and non-profits to end chronic homelessness or street poverty, the kind of poverty that most of the respondents in my research have experienced, the funding just isn't there as yet to accommodate everyone who could use it. Estimates of how many homeless exist are hard to nail down, but they

remain in the range of 300,000 to over 4 million, depending on the sources one examines (HUD, NAEH, NCH, et).

[6] In Amos 8:4-6: "Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, ...falsifying the balances by deceit. That we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of cause shoes; and sell the refuse of the wheat." In Psalm 140:12, "I know that the LORD will maintain the of the afflicted, and justice for the poor." In Prov. 19:17, "He who is gracious to a poor man lends to the LORD, and He will repay him for his good deed. The position is supported by the Encyclopedia of Homeless 2004 that offers extensive correlation between verses, laws and policies.

[7] Rathbone, Mark. "Vagabond!", History Review; March 2005, Issue 51: 8-13 Academic Search Premier, EBSCO host (accessed June 25 2010).

[8] In addition to branding, "ear boring" was common; a hole one inch in diameter was drilled into the gristle of the ear (12). Of course the vagrant had the choice of working in the galleys of the navy or as infantry, or perhaps a stint in an early form of the workhouse called the "bridewell" (Snow and Anderson 1993: 12).

[9] Slack 1988 - Poverty and policy in Tudor and Stuart England, London 1988).

[10] See Marx, Karl and Engels F. (1970), Polanyi (1944), Wallerstein (2004), Dean, (1999; 2010) Caton (1990).

[11] The cost of providing for the vagrant becomes a calculable measure accounted for in terms of the material costs above any spiritual or moral benefit. Hence parishes actively discriminate against vagrants and the poor, making it difficult for them to roost. Caton (1990) and Deutsch (1937) cite the common practice amongst parishes of secreting the poor to other jurisdictions under "cover of night

[12] Oregon and Washington supported major resource economies and had a long history of homesteading and claims making. The topography itself made discrete campgrounds possible and it was possible to overlook the shantytown as a form of this tradition. (see History of Oregon, Online).

[13] As we will see, these definitions figure prominently in the allocation of resources to strategies for dealing with homelessness, even though from a purely conceptual level, they are each indicative of a situation requiring sustained and strategic intervention by the state, communities and the homeless themselves. These categories in part describe what Leginski (2007) define as the heterogeneous character of contemporary homelessness.

[14] Early studies of the homeless by Solenberger (1911) Anderson, (1923) revealed a largely male population sometimes of *intemperate manner*, but very often suffering from mental illness of some sort; in some groups almost 2/3 suffered a major health problem such as blindness or deafness (Solenberger 1911; Anderson 1923; Caton 1990:9.

[15] Hoovervilles, refer in a derogatory sense to President Hoover who was blamed for the depression, and who was perceived as less than sympathetic for those most effected by his mismanagement of things. Charles Michelson, Publicity Chief of the Democratic National Committee coined the term Hooverville, which was first used in print in 1930 by the New York Times (Kathy Weiser/Legends of America - online resource, August, 2010). http://www.legendsofamerica.com/20th-hoovervilles3.html.

[16] The Great Depression is understood as the result of irresponsible consumer spending, high household debt, falling commodity prices, bank failures, extreme unemployment, stock market crash and various other features commensurate with a general economic collapse under liberal capitalism. Amongst other things, it helped to call into question the liberal market values that were argued had led to monopolistic and rapacious business practices.

[17] There was little debate over whom was deserving or not; though the displacement was massive and unprecedented, it was expected to be short lived, and the millions of newly homeless were largely not blamed for their demise by the state, the police or media, and especially not in pubic imaginaries. With the dimension of the displacement less dramatic in some countries (England for example), it was still a universal experience amongst liberal democracies, and poverty, if not homelessness became a defining caution under emerging neoliberal welfare policies.

[18] State and municipal camps included.

[19] Programs included: minimum wages, encouragement of unions to fight for higher wages, and a reduction in farm production to raise farm incomes were seen as economic stimulators, while the introduction of social security and make work programs was to provide relief on a broad scale to those hardest hit (Best 1991, 1993). At the same time monies were made available as were new financial incentives for new home construction and to help homeowners stave off foreclosure. These measures were successful in lowering unemployment by over 2/3 between 1933 – 1937, and the economy had rebounded by 1937. But another deep recession in 1937 proved that even neoliberal tinkering was flawed, and this perception of weakness gave liberal conservative critics of Roosevelt's "socialist" tendencies the power they needed to vote down any extension of the New Deal into other areas such as social housing.

[20] In the context of the discussion of neoliberalism presented earlier, housing policies were critiqued by conservative liberals, for the impact they had on federal deficits and spending on economically defective segments of society.

[21] While federal US programs such as the New Deal Housing Administration's rezoning laws in favour of single family dwellings can be seen as an ideological mechanism of transforming the labor base of the US into manageable and contented populations, the result for poor individuals was that it became difficult to establish

permanent residences because multi and extended family modes were excluded (Leginski 2007:5). Such cooperative housing modes made homeownership feasible for low income workers, and even with lower mortgages and long term lending programs in the New Deal, most new poor families could not obtain a unit of their own. Revitalization was seen as way of creating vibrant and productive cities and increasing the urban economy. Such laws as the National Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954 created a legacy of gentrification in downtown cores where homeless people had congregated. The 1949 and the 1954 acts continued to support new single family dwelling construction, but offered cities funding to purchase areas deemed to be "slums" under the guide of *eminent domain,* in order to encourage reinvestment in dilapidated city cores by private developers. Though phrased "urban redevelopment" in the 1949 act, by 1954 it was deemed "urban renewal".

[22] In the late 19th century, Capitalist cities designated the sprawling meadows and hillsides on the outskirts of the town to the upper tiers while relegating the poor and destitute to the core (Jackson 1985: intro). While city cores became increasingly worn down and slummed out, the new prosperity of the US economy after the war held promise for the new vision of the American Household, as the cornerstone of Suburbia.

[23] The practice of this intentional slum building started in New York city in 1935; developers were encouraged to build large housing projects for the working poor, but they did so under condition that for each unit of slum housing, a unit of private dwelling would be demolished, creating demand and substandard living conditions as they proceeded. "New York City Housing Authority". *The City of New York*. Retrieved 2011-11-16.

[24] See Davies, Gareth. 1996. *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism*; Katz, Michael B. 1989. *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*. New York: Pantheon Books; Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas; Quadagno, Jill. 1994) *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty*. New York: Oxford University Press.

[25] Friedman argued for stronger basic legal (constitutional) protection of economic rights. – see - Friedman, Milton. *Inflation: Causes and Consequences*. New York: Asia Publishing House; Friedman, Milton (1969). *Memoirs of an Unregulated Economist*. Aldine Publishing Company.

[26] See Weisbrod, Burton, Ed. *The Economics of Poverty: An American Paradox,* Prentice-Hall 1965. The policies of the War on Poverty, similarly to the housing acts previously discussed can be seen as extension of the Roosevelt's New Deals, and *Four Freedoms Speech* that included freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of want, freedom from fear, the latter two of which were not guaranteed in the US Constitution, and became the sources or access points for critics of (Roosevelt's) alleged socialism (Rossi 1989; Best 1993).

[27] While overall poverty figures declined to as low as 11% in the mid 1970, by the late 1970's they had resurged to 17% and more currently are conservatively estimated to be at close to 16% (HUD 2009; 2010; 2011).

[28] In my film, Subtext, homeless respondents recount similar expenses as recently as 2008. Rossi provides a fairly detailed account of the emergence of shelters as a loosely integrated system of municipal and private charitable accommodations for the homeless . For the most part, shelters run by private organizations like the Salvation Army were superior in most respects to those run by municipalities. Rossi offers that this was in part because city shelters did not, could not restrict who entered the premises except in terms of going beyond capacity whereas private shelters could restrict who entered on the basis of inebriation or bizarre behaviour (36). It is important to note that at no time in the three periods just discussed are shantytowns mentioned as a legitimate form of housing for the poor. Tent camps, squats, and other claims are rarely if ever discussed in the literature from that period.

[29] This is presumably because it has had a large population and a longer history with services associated with the poor. It is noteworthy that the majority of statistical information comes from Chicago and New York, where media and scientific observation of homelessness has enjoyed a greater appeal because each of these large populations required solutions sooner.

[30] On Justification 2011:50-55.

[31] Various studies, Bahr and Caplow (1968), Solenberger (1911), Anderson, (1923), Goodwin (1985, in Caplow, 1990), Caton, (1990) Street Health, (2005-2009), NAEH 2011) cite the range of usage amongst the impoverished of alcohol and other substances at between 15-35% although such figures are not only unreliable, it is almost impossible to say with any certainty that they differ from conventional populations. In Dignity Village, drug and alcohol use was close to 80%, though level of addiction per se was impossible to discern.

[32] See Levinson, D. (ed) *The Encyclopedia of Homelessness volumes One and Two*; also Salem ebooks, *The Eighties in America*, section on "Homelessness."

[33] "In 1983, a group of concerned leaders founded the National Citizens Committee for Food and Shelter to help meet the emergency needs of a growing population of homeless people across the country. By 1987, it was clear that despite the Committee's success, homelessness had taken root for a number of systematic reasons, and a "hot and a cot" were not going to end the problem. At that time, the organization became known as the National Alliance to End Homelessness." www.endhomelssness.org.

[34] For example, The National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty successfully litigated cases against the District of Columbia and the State of New York. *See Lampkin v. District of Columbia* 27 F.3d 605 (D.C. Cir. 1993);

[35] Street counts are a common method of obtaining data from shelters, missions, foodbanks and walk through in areas commonly frequented by homeless persons. One night street counts are extrapolated to suggest tends or composite figures of the total persons experiencing literal shelterlessness. The numbers are dubious and do not reflect the total number of persons in jeopardy at a given "point in time".

[36] In 1996 Clinton's administration introduced the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (PRWORA). This act replaced the 1938 (NEW DEAL) Aid to Families with Dependent Children Act, which anchored national welfare strategies for close to 60 years. In 1988, AFDC was replaced with the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training program (JOBS). While AFDC funds to the poor were declining for several years, the PRWORA introduced the TANF discussed earlier. The basic shift in this program was the inclusion of a requirement of TANF agencies to guarantee that 50% of their clients found employment while receiving assistance. Elements of the TANF included workfare provisions; recipients were to pursue or find work in order to receive supplements. While conservatives and Liberals held the measures in high regards as means to instill the American work ethic back into welfare recipients, the policy can be seen only as a means to associate self-worth with economic functionality. Furthermore, the policy was to instill a sense of purpose for single mothers that non-poor single mothers were presumed to enjoy.

[37] "Consumers' perception of the Continuum of Care offers another divergent perspective. Consumers experience the Continuum as a series of hurdles—specifically, ones that many of them are unable or unwilling to overcome. Consumers who are homeless regard housing as an immediate need, yet access to housing is not made available unless they first complete treatment. By leveraging housing on participation and treatment, continuum program requirements are incompatible with consumers' priorities and restrict the access of consumers who are unable or unwilling to comply with program terms." (Tsemberis, Sam, Founder of Housing First -- http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1448313/)

[38] In Subtext - real stories, version two, (2008).

[39] http://www.nlchp.org and http://www.nclej.org

[40] see NCH " Tent Cities in America: A Pacific Report 2010, and also www.ShareWheel.org.

[41] http://vbc.cityrepair.org - "In 1996, neighbors in the Sellwood neighborhood of Portland at the intersection of 9th and Sherrett created a tea stand, children's playhouse and community library on the corner and renamed it "Share-It Square" Community

organizers founded the City Repair Project that same year, seeking to share their vision with the community. In January 2000, the Portland City Council passed ordinance #172207, an "Intersection Repair" ordinance, allowing neighborhoods to develop public gathering places in certain street intersections". Also see video clip marked Communal Tea.

[42] www.columbiaecovillage.or

[43] "In 1785, the Continental Congress passed the National Land Ordinance, which laid a Roman colonial grid over all lands west of the Ohio River. This included all future cities and towns. Public spaces and piazzas occur naturally at the intersection of pathways when communities are allowed to grow organically. The National Land Ordinance both pre-empted the natural development of such places and neglected to provide for them within the mandated grid plan. In cities based on the grid plan, it is much easier for people to feel isolated and not know their own neighbors. The neighborhood places for communication and gathering that develop naturally in non-grid cities must be specifically planned for in grid cities. The City Repair Project was established to return these important places of communication and participation to our neighborhoods. At City Repair, we see that sustainable communities are built when people work together for mutual benefit. We create and facilitate prototype gathering spaces that can inspire any community to create their own places of gathering. Our projects are all aimed at building a more community-oriented and ecologically sustainable society – but we can't do it in your neighborhood if you don't get involved!"
(Quoted from: http://cityrepair.org/about/why-city-repair).

[44] I explained these shortly the spaces of liminality, or communitas. Turner states, that while his focus a has been on preindustrial, traditional society, that the "collective dimensions of communitas and structure, are to be found at all stages and levels of culture and society" (113). For modern complex societies, the 'processual' nature of liminality suggests a real threat to order, and so it is through various spaces, from ritual to theatre, that beings [I would add the streets and intentional community]experience alternate possibilities in a communal performance of unlimited possibility (1967:97).

[45] Michel de Certeau's style of writing is as layered and artistic as the discursive similes he employs to create an urban social architecture. So in looking at how real-life outcomes arise from relations, one is really addressing a possible infinite plurality of possible outcomes based on the *individuals* connected in the (always social) relation, rather than on predictable relations governed by abstract terms. It is somewhere out of the negotiation of the rules and structures of the (urban) landscape, (the source of the broken telephone) the *strategies* he would call it, that people (users) develop *tactics*, often undisclosed means of navigating and claiming the world around them.

[46] We have already discussed, Wagner (1993) Bahr and Caplow (1968), Bogue (1968), Anderson (1923), and others all of whom describe the streets and the chronically homeless as part of a structurally diverse culture with examples of meritocratic,

charismatic authorities, competition over turf and resources and hierarchical systems of unconventional affiliations. Equality in the sense used by activists is an ideal that in lived experience seems unlikely.

[47] For example, the Pathways web site suggests that the cost of a Housing First program is about $57.00 per night; shelter - $75.00; jail - $164.00; hospitals and psych wards $19 - 1185 per night. http://www.pathwaystohousing.org/content/our_model. The cost of policing and delivery service to un-housed persons compounds the figures immeasurably.

[48] Ten Year Plans – "In 2000, the National Alliance to End Homelessness released A Plan, Not a Dream: How to End Homelessness in Ten Years - a bold, innovative strategy to end homelessness in the United States… By developing - and subsidizing when needed - an adequate supply of affordable housing, communities can move people off of the streets and reduce homelessness effectively and permanently. Build the infrastructure. Ending homelessness can be a first step in addressing the systemic problems that lead to crisis poverty, including a shortage of affordable housing, incomes that do not pay for basic needs, and a lack of appropriate services for those that need them. Addressing all of these issues community by community is a necessary step to ending homelessness and poverty. Since the release of this blueprint, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Bush Administration have endorsed the idea of planning to end chronic homelessness in ten years, the Obama Administration pledged to end veterans homelessness within five years, and the US Interagency Council on Homelessness challenged cities to create plans to end homelessness. The momentum has built across the country — to date, there are 243 completed plans to end homelessness across the country. These plans echo key strategies outlined in the Alliance's plan and represent a critical, collective effort to end homelessness nationwide. The Homelessness Research Institute at the National Alliance to End Homelessness recently completed a study evaluating the completed plans. The report, A Shifting Focus, evaluates the elements and implementation of the plans. The Alliance maintains a database of the existing plans and encourages communities developing plans to submit theirs."(Quoted from, NAEH WEBSITE - http://www.endhomelessness.org/pages/ten-year-plan).

[49] The number of worse case needs in terms of housing assistance has jumped from 5.91 million to 7.10 million between 2007-2009, and includes renters in jeopardy of losing their housing. 41 percent, or 17.1 million of American poor renters had what are called worst case needs, caused by paying more than 50% of income on rent or other hardships associated with sickness, low income and high costs. In this light, new housing or building affordable housing is a concern lost in the translation of housing need across several categories of homelessness ranging from literally, to in jeopardy of, losing housing. (HUD 2009, *Report To Congress* : http://www.huduser.org/Publications/pdf/worstcase_HsgNeeds09.pdf

[50] Referring to my earlier summary of neoliberalism, it is hard to imagine modern US society in the absence of strong economic convictions; knowledge has been produced

over time about inflation, trade deficit, tariffs, subsidies and budgets and also about the "need" for Americans to struggle along side the economy during it s latest reconstruction. Homelessness is constructed as a temporary situation that fluctuates with economic circumstances, despite its ubiquity in American culture since the country was first settled, yet amongst Americans themselves there exist a number of competing truths about poverty and how it is produced. Regardless of the debate over poverty, very few Americans would argue that a healthy economy is a bad thing for the country or for themselves as citizens.

[51] There is no way to reduce current practices of government to a principle or point of origin. It is not explaining where a practice comes from that is of interest to this research. What would be the point of identifying the primary point of origin as an end in itself? Other than to reiterate a dubious historical point of order, there is little need to do so, other than to explain how extant knowledge or rationales articulate from one point to another, and are therefore, important in their currency, that is; in how they impinge on the problem to which our study is directed. Hence, as Dean suggest, practices need to be understood "as composed of heterogeneous elements having diverse historical trajectories, as polymorphous in their internal and external relations, and bearing upon a wide range of problems and issues"(40). "The term 'regime of practices' refers to these historically constituted assemblages, through which we do such things as cure, care, relieve poverty, punish, educate, train and counsel" (40).

For the purposes of this dissertation, I am concerned with how one might incorporate an analytics of government into an ethnographic methodology. As couched in the framework given to us by Foucault, but seeking to show how to use it in the real world, Dean's work suggests a way of understanding how the shantytown fits into the regimes of practices of government, and further, how this location relative to other strategies and subjects, has relevance for the agency of villagers themselves.

[52] But in another sense, it includes also the way regimes of government depict certain categories of person, as certain problems in terms of their positive or negative, contributory or deleterious effects for strategies.

[53] The four dimensions are not reducible to one another. They tend to imbricate in various ways that vary over time and in very specific ways. This is why, and it is very important, that generalizations fail to reveal the openings to freedom and autonomy that traditional views of authority and governance tend to reject as counter intuitive. "Transformations of regimes of practices may take place along each or any one of these axes, and transformations along one axis may entail transformation in others" (44). It is the transformative process(es) that historically pivotal shifts in governance occur, and therefore, it is into these shifting moments that housing activism seeks to insert its influence. These shifts represent the moments when the telos of government might be steered towards a shift.

For Dean, the *telos* of the government is the degree to which it believes in the probability that people can be changed, that situations can be changed. It is a Utopian

belief in that it counts on the fact that the goals of government are achievable - one does not govern simply to govern, but because one expects that though policy and enforcement, changes in the way we do things can be achieved. Hence, governmentality studies need to *extract* this quality when looking at governance.

Chapter Seven: Unlimited Liminality in Between-Worlds and Recent Events

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I tie together the many loose ends that unpacking critiques of the village produces. I am going to be very faithful to some current events and the actual conversations had between villagers and myself in light of these events, to show that the liminality of the village is really a reflection of the stalled critique that started it off. Very recent events surrounding drug factions are forcing villagers to deal with this limbo, or it is very likely they will find the village shuttered, and their lives cast to the streets once more. In this chapter I am also going to provide an illustrative passage of what life as a village reject looks like to someone who has been targeted by a drug gang and kicked out of the village on trumped up charges. Going backwards in liminality, from one place of liminality, to something even less defined, shows just how much the village reflects the dominant orders it was supposed to shed. I talk about spatial heterotopias in detail because they have in recent years been widely incorporated in literature on festivals, political occupations and I have entertained the heterotopic qualities of the village in my own work because of the wide range of opinions villagers hold about it. But heterotopic qualities are not the only ones they speak of, so I rejoin Soja as a way to enter the current conversations we are having about how to "save" the village. I then discuss a series of village events and shifts in leadership that centered on the contract we saw in the last chapter. I ask villagers in fairly clear language if this contract was not in fact a sort of death-blow. I ask them how the world of the village might look if they imagined it differently. The contract stirred things up a bit, leading for a short time to an activist regime that tried to get things in order, but was soon impeached by factions who felt

threatened by this. This latest impeachment was only a few months ago and it set off a series of events that, as of today, has the village in the cross-hairs of the housing bureau, the police, the Oregonian Newspaper, and a number of critical opposition groups. The issue on the table is the drug problem, something which most reasonable people understand comes with long-term homelessness, but in this case, in this icon of self-governance and critique of neoliberal governance, the village's drug problem, becomes a discursive matter for the intentional camps currently being negotiated elsewhere, and provides a clear point of entry for the city's sovereign power over the village.

7.2 Liminality as Open Space

I have already described the condition of the Dignity homeless as perpetual liminality, since it places them "between and betwixt" important values about shelter and home, and prevents them from anything but the most limited active roles in society outside of the gates. It is a between-world from which villagers must try to find a sense of self-worth and dignity from amongst the poverty and broken political opportunities the village provides. Unlike Van Gennep and Turner's use, liminality in Dignity is not temporary. The actual grounded and institutional aspect of the village is very hard to understand from within the gates, but is a bit more understandable from the words of someone who has been tossed out and back to the streets. And then one might ask, what happens to someone who fails in a place such as Dignity Village? What happens to someone who gets kicked out of the village? I offer this excerpt to try and link the deeply personal and traumatic impact living this way has on people, especially those with mental

heath issues, like Jay. The video is quite moving: http://tinyurl.com/JayintunnelExile. (See also DS DISC 2, "Jay in Tunnel").

Excerpt from *Dignity in Exile* 2012:59-64

Jay walked us through a small stand of immature bamboo shootes. A worn path led to the culvert that was 100 yards from the main gate of the Air National Guard. Even though it rains very hard in Portland and was doing so almost everyday at some point, this culvert and the inflow were dusty and dry. Turned out it was an auxiliary culvert, about eight feet in diameter. And it never got wet inside except in the winter. Jay had only been there a little over a month. We stepped into the culvert, hunched over, and I became itchy. For me as an ethnographer, I found it interesting that other than immediately noting the relatively spacious quality of the culvert, my most salient reaction was to the spiders and how quickly this became a pervasive itch. Hard to control a camera when you were itchy. I saw, before anything else, the white puffballs and cobwebs that lined all the visible surfaces of the squat. Inside them, small white spiders about an inch in size had colonized the walls of the culvert. Jay didn't even notice them. I kept scratching my scalp.

"Do you ever get bit?" I asked.

Jay looked at me and laughed. "They don't bite. It's them brown recluses [spiders] ya gotta watch out for. Those suckers are nasty. They like it damp though. Downtown under the bridges, ya get bit. Not here though." Jay slipped off his shoes and crawled onto a sleeping bag laid out on a foam bed. His beddings and belongings all seemed pretty clean. I set up the tripod and hooked up my big camera and decided not to do anything about the lighting. The sun was blasting in from the west and made the lighting on Jay hard to manage. There was a bright halo behind him and every time he moved, it influenced my lens and the lighting changed. But I couldn't escape how overpowering the rims of the culvert were, how the bolts and webs seemed almost intentionally placed to frame this shot.

Jay was a different person when he was sober. That day he was clearheaded and he spoke well. A debater. Logical. Angry. "I'm a mouth, I speak out," he said. "I hate them tweakers, and I put it in their face and they don't like it." With the village somewhat divided across three lines of addiction – tweaking (meth), junk (heroin) and soft stuff (liquor and pot) – Jay argued that various alliances seemed to be forming over the residents' dependence on not only certain substances but on the persons who smuggled the crap in and sold it. At the time of Jay's incident, several alleged tweakers were on the council and they were tired of his incessant speaking out. He took some pleasure in annoying them as often as he could by calling them "Tweaker, tweaker" in public and by making sarcastic remarks. Ultimately, he suggested, he pissed them off so much that they took his unfortunate fainting spell as an opportunity to rid them of his constant haranguing. Whatever the reason, he was here, in a culvert.

"Look, it's simple. I wasn't drunk. I even went to a doctor who told me that I might suffer from micturition syncope, a condition when a man can get up from sleeping and take a pee and faint and puke. And the way I read the write-up and the way they described it, that's exactly what happened to me. I wasn't drinking that night. I did take a sleeping aid from my wife that night, because of my past I have trouble sleeping at night

and trust me this [he motioned to the culvert] is really hard for me sleeping in here... I just got no choice."

"I smoke weed, uh, I been trying to quit because the mental health classes that I go to require it. And I been using marijuana to help me sleep at night. It's worked for me for 30 years." He was looking into the camera, directly. He seemed to be pleading with the lens or me, or an unseen authority. His voice was broken. I cannot describe how moving it was to hear; a metaphor would be rude, I think. I have goose bumps now, watching the video clips from which this transcription was derived – I had them then. Quivering, like a child, who struggles to understand, "Why?"

"And I'm really having a hard time quitting." Jay covered his mouth, suppressing a sob. Catching his breath, he choked it out, "And I could go back to jail for that."

A long pause.

And then came the confession. Finally, someone to listen and to tell his story. "Well, when I was 12, I was kidnapped, ah, for 11 months. And every heinous crime that could possibly happen to a small child happened." He became calm and the tears dried up momentarily. He spoke matter of factly, effortlessly. "I was kept in a closet, and slid plates of food, maybe three or four times a week under the door. I was taken out and abused." Jay's eyes were scanning every inch of the ribbed rounded walls of the culvert. Fighting back a new volley of tears. And now his eyes glossed over again. "I am very claustrophobic."

A long pause. I heard him swallow.

"Uh, stuff I am learning to deal with." He wasn't with us, he was back in the closet, and later, in his prison cell, and then, perhaps, back in the village in his home with his wife. He was nowhere near, but only a meter away. "They didn't just hurt me by kicking me out of the village and keeping me away from my wife. They hurt me because they put me back here."

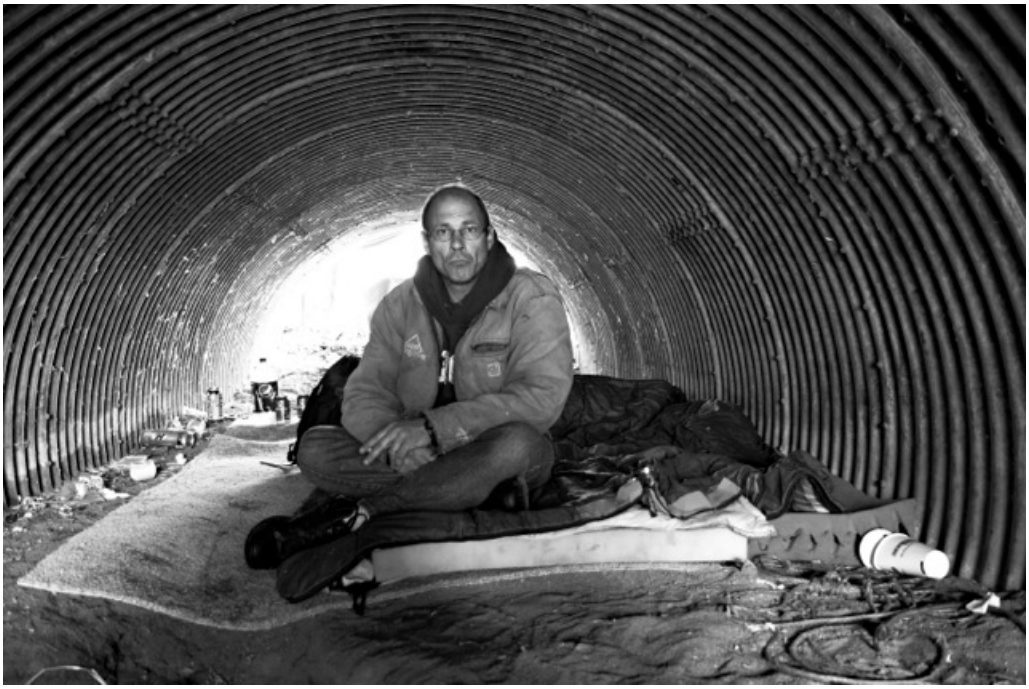


Fig. 33. Jay in his Culvert, July 2011. (N. Dickson).

To Jay, his exile marked a failure on the village's behalf to invigilate rules appropriately, because in that space, what people say as witnesses, often as partisan witnesses, carries weight. You don't need evidence, nor are you granted a proper legal defense. There is a legal system that models itself on trial by jury, but it in no way is as regulated or inhabited by due process as "real" courts. Essentially, at the bi-weekly membership meetings the council brings up incident reports about bad conduct and the villagers vote to support a number of punishments that include exile. Three types of exile occurred when I was there. A "24" expels someone for the day and a night. A week or two week, and up to a month, were also common. The most devastating is a permanent "86". It is clear that the village, like mainstream groups incorporates the punitive quality of space, in this case, housing, as device for conduct. Jay was 86'd. So one can see how this place for all its claims to be democratic is, in judicial matters at least, ill-formed, poorly routinized and uses its own irregularly applied system of domination on members who are weaker, or who are un-liked for their views. It sits somewhere between proper judiciary practice and lawlessness. Liminal spaces such as the village use ambiguity as a device for punishment. And this ambiguity keeps people tied to powerful others rather than the rules, because the rules only mean something if enough people say they do – in the village. From this perspective, the village invites a normative discourse about what is justice, what is legal, and is it moral or ethical to let gangs govern? As ambiguous as the village seemed to me, hearing Jay refer to the culvert as "back here," reminded me of just how relatively better structured and safe the village was, than the other places street people had lived.

I could never understand how partisan groups in the village, regardless of how just the ruling, could invoke an exile upon one of their members, without investigating punishments that didn't cede them back to homelessness. Critics of the exile such as Samson, had rightly said, "It is mystifying to see homeless people treat other homeless people, like they were shelter Gods or cops. It's outrageous." The village does what conventional society does. It outcasts those who threaten the order of things as determined by those powerful enough to make such determinations. Hence liminality is not just a state of existence, it is a critique, a threat, a way of thinking.

Occupying a transitional phase places the "being" in a void of sorts relative to others, in a position to be shunned or mistrusted pending outcomes. From Mary Douglas' (1966) *Purity and Pollution*, Turner suggests that what is "unclear, is unclean… pollution is a reaction to protect cherished principles from contradiction" (in Turner 1967:97). Turner remarks that, "from this standpoint, one would expect to find that transitional beings are particularly polluting, since they are neither one thing or another: or may be both; or neither here nor there; or maybe even nowhere (in terms of any recognized cultural topography), and are at the very least, "betwixt and between" all the recognized fixed points in space-time structural classification"(97).

Later Turner presages the "dis" or stigmatizing discourse on the transitioning street homeless by reminding us that "a structurally negative characteristic of transitional beings is that they have nothing, … no status, property, insignia, secular clothing… nothing to demarcate them…" (98-99). If one accepts that Dignity Villagers are liminal personae of sorts, then one accepts also that they are living in a community that is betwixt the street and conventional housing worlds, and that this entails a sense of rising out of

the despair and impurity of the street identity, and into a reclaimed, conventional identity. The village uses access to housing as a sort of capital punishment for those who fall out of favor. The city uses the streets too as a sort of implicit threat if the village doesn't comply with the contract. They have told the village, though it is yet to be enforced, that they can shut the village down with notice at any time, regardless of the contract, and with no promise of an exit plan. This is a powerful sanction, the threat of losing one's place in the village; it mirrors capitalism's answer for all failures, expulsion to the margins.

Homelessness, then, places the individual betwixt and between conventional spatializations of life events, and also conventional relationships that serve as a rejoinder to the properly self-conducted life. The homeless who make claims on public space, or who build a new concept of home, the shanty, out of scrap, and thereby begin accumulating other material objects, clothing, bikes and such, one could argue, threaten the custom and normative, even ritual value of home ownership as the only legitimate from and site for private material accumulation (Jackson 1985; Gans 1993; Wagner 1993). Liminality then, to refresh, suggests that ideas, attitudes, opinions and identities, arguably any conceptualized or empirical phenomenon can be thought of or understood of in terms of the liminal space they occupy in a spatial - temporal sense, or on the psychic transformation they embody.

Bringing this argument to bear on the residents of the shantytown space, marginality, on the one hand might speak of promise, of crossing over to a desired and structurally consistent role, or on the other, as Myerhoff (1982:117), suggests, possible routes to alienation and lack of self-definition. Clearly Jay found his way into the latter,

while others in the village, fearing the same end, currently do not do anything to "rock the boat." Dave Samson, suggests that the villager has to understand this sense of limbo as the result of buying into the institutional qualities of the village space. In this sense the village is to him a total institution, from Goffman (1961) that separates a stigmatized group and fulfills all their necessities, while serving the needs of society at large to control problematic segments of the population. He argues that homeless people are preconditioned to this way of thinking about themselves because they have for the most part, been institutionalized in foster care, jails, welfare and psychiatric service, for most of their lives and certainly as homeless recipients of aid. Once accepted into the village, that frame of mind understands itself as incapable of experiencing the freedoms enjoyed outside of the gate, and seeks to fulfill such needs internally. John Boy says, residing in the village fixes the person's head; Samson suggests that it traps the mind in a sense of hopeless inevitability.

Dean's analytics of government is a good model for answering Foucault's question of "how" governors *want to* govern, but just because the discourse of governance is expressed in manuals and contract language, actual life does not go on according to these rules in the village. Life in Dignity Village is inherently anti-rational in the sense that people act and speak in highly irregular and fleeting patterns. Rules are irregularly met, the goals of the mission are hardly achieved, and its transitional capacity is virtually non-existent. "Dave Samson said once, "there is no such thing as truth here, we make it up as we go along." And this begs me to question the possibility of justifications in the sense that Boltanski has used it earlier. The liminal nature of the village, allows for a number of make believe rules and fantasies about what is "just" to

become justifications, but these have very little to do with normative-diagnostics, or principles of organization and tend to confirm the temporary status of cliques with specific agendas inside the village. To sum it up, the village seems to mirror many of the liminal experiences and points of conflict that happen in conventional settings as well.

The key difference is that the conventional social world, there ideally are leaders and practitioners, institutions and organizations to help people experience liminality and transit into post-liminal roles (Van Gennep 1908; Turner 1982; Baumhol 2004). For struggling communities and neighborhoods, organizers play an important role in making social and economic transformations possible. At the very least, conventional society is supposed to provide the means by which to transit people through various stages of life; birth, childhood, adulthood and old age, and all the roles and statuses in between. Bourdieu has suggested that habitus guides these liminal experiences, Foucault and Boltanski both suggest that discourses and institutions provide continuous linkages between ideas, roles and how we choose to conduct ourselves. But these structures do not exist in the village. Ibrahim said that the leadership just does not exist to help new villagers find their role or their critical voice. I think the city knew this would be the case, and used it as a way to castrate the village's critical potential. City planners said "you need help, you need professional help" and when they granted the village its wings they knew the weight of democratic self-governance would not let it fly. Once again, if the village acted as a transitional camp, the city and even the village's public critics would be delighted. But it does not. It is somewhere between the streets and this role as a transitional camp, and is therefore, a between-world, for persons whose desired transition is to a job and housing, but who rarely achieve these ends.

It is also the case that the village resides outside the conventional imaginary partly because of the village's isolation, but also because it does not present itself in any understandable mental categories that are testable or consistently understood. The village does not show up en masse anymore in the protests, on the streets helping others, or in the press. The buzz about the village is no longer idyllic, and is very critical, because competition for the space to open camps is growing. We will end our discussion of the village by recognizing the way Soja's way of looking at the village, in this case as a space to manage liminality, rather than a green democratic utopia, is giving current claims some relevance. This new relevance is not merely experimental, it is based on the interpretation of how such places can *reasonably contribute* to liminal transitions. Scholars, activists and cities now want to know what the realistic interpretations of these places are. I already mentioned the continuum of debate generated by others about the village, but of there is no self-generated debate to inform these others, because there is no critical and collective voice. In this way of thinking, and I think as the documents and transitional language suggests, the village and others that are modeled after it, are parts of the de facto shelter system, a system designed by city power to manage liminality, but not to transcend it. And I don't think this is because governors don't want people to take on mainstream homes and occupations, but is rather, because the jobs and the reasonably priced accommodations do not exist. These other villages are only now realizing that they cannot govern alone; self-governing democratic intentional camps are a fantasy. They are coming to embrace a hybridization between external governance and membership that reeks of "shelter," Regardless of the parallels between conventional

imaginaries and the world of the village, the bottom line is that the village is a space *set aside* by power for an alternate vision on how to manage liminality.

Hopper and Baumohl (2004) argue that "In America in the late twentieth century, life-course transitions in general have become more individualized, less bound to strategic family decisions, less subject to custom's scripting. As liminality become[s] riskier and more easily derailed, its casualties may find their way into the ranks of the *officially* homeless" (2004:356 [my emphasis]). This is vitally important; liminality applies to us all as we experience our own rites of passage. University educations no longer guarantee jobs. Seniority no longer guarantees one's pension. College grads are living at home. Homes are becoming more difficult to keep, and illness or mental breakdowns are on the rise across all categories. We can abridge my use of liminality to extend to people who are not homeless. The village in a very unique way bundles all the hope and all the insecurity into a single bounded spatialization. I describe this as a sort of idealized community model, which in ways is a between-world, a sort of hybridized space that combines Foucault's (failed) governmentality with a range of ill-formed and liminal forms of justification for resolving conflict, that combine to create this perpetually liminal space.

Earlier I discussed communitas as having limited applicability to the village. By now, it should be clear that in the sense that it is populated by homeless people who live in a social structure that reflects conventional ideals, but interprets broader legal and political processes in its own convenient and irregular ways, the space is both real and unreal; real in the Cartesian sense of being bounded by thresholds, unreal in the sense that it is largely a place of fantasies about performing conventional ways of living. Like

Turner, Foucault (1984) had ideas about how to understand places that invert, twist, resist and reject. If the village could learn to re-imagine itself for these other qualities; twisting, inverting, resisting, would we see the re-emergence of the village activist citizen? I want to re-enter the earlier brief discussion of spatial heterotopias because they have had some popularity in recent years as models for spaces of resistance. I want to demonstrate that resistance is only one of many possible ways to look at these camps.

(A sampler of the village space 2011 -http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lN8pe-dCnQQ).

7.3 Counter - Conduct in Heterotopic Community

According to Foucault (2007) resistance is way to question how we are governed, not to reject government. This question about how to be governed in a certain way can result in "counter-conducts" that reflect the choice of actors, groups of actors in the pursuit of alternative ways to achieve the same ends, through new leaders, new political alliances, new rationales and strategies, vis a vis political, economic and social areas of living.

> Yes. Space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power. To make a parenthetical remark, I recall having been invited, in 1966, by a group of architects to do a study of space, of something that I called at that time "heterotopias, " those singular spaces to be found in some given social spaces whose functions are different or even opposite others. The architects worked on this, and at the end of the study someone spoke up--a Sartrean psychologist-who firebombed me, saying that space is reactionary and capitalist, but history and becoming are revolutionary. This absurd discourse was not at all unusual at the time. Today everyone would be convulsed with laughter at such a pronouncement, but not then (Foucault, 1984:252).

Counter conducts ("contre-conduites" 2004:199) appear in Foucault's work (also 2007) as a form of resistance against the way governance is experienced (201). Years before that he had discussed spatializations of resistance in various places which exist

simply for the purposes of twisting, inverting and playing with alternative forms of self-conduct and liminal life experience. In 1984, The French journal, Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité published a text called "Des Espace Autres," which constituted the basis for a lecture given by Foucault in 1967.[1] Heterotopias are presented by Foucault as zones of contestations and resistance, yet following Topinka (2010), I would argue that in cases, such as the shantytown, they are in fact sites of a reordering of extant relations of power that delineate the bounds of freedom and autonomy for actors pursuing alternative avenues towards these ends. They are zones where critique displaces power and fills space with its own version of order. In effect, the heterotopia is most useful for understanding resistance, not as an outright rejection of power, but as a means by which actors try to realign themselves in order to have more of it, even if in a ludic, event-based or highly temporary and concentrated spatialization.[2]

There are places too, in every culture, where the other sites of normal living are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. They are outside these other places, but are real, they have context in space, the same space, but as places of counter ideas and actions - these are heterotopias. Between the utopia and the heterotopia, there is another site, which he calls the *mirror*.

"In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there, where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror. But it is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counteraction on the position I occupy" (Foucault 1984: 5-6).[3]

The mirror functions as a heterotopia in the sense that it makes the place from which the reflection originates, the place of the viewer, absolutely real and connected to all points in space around him yet it is also absolutely unreal since this spatialization of

inverted reality must be reflected through a virtual point that exists outside the viewer. I will return to this, since in many ways this is part of the process of perpetual liminality that the shantytown embodies - they look at themselves in the critiques of the village that appear in media, research, conversations and political pressures from governance, that see the village in unique ways that villagers must reconcile with their own self-perceptions. It is also partly the place or the space if you will of the pragmatic ethnography of critique; the book *Dignity in Exile*, Mosher's "Doorways to Dignity and Tent City Tools kit", my videos for the village and this dissertation, create a certain composite mirror, one might argue. When I repatriated the book to the village for feedback and to start conversations, I was handing them a mirror. When they watch the intake video, they see a mirror of how they are to govern.

As for heterotopias, there are six principles that define them.[4] I will look only to the fifth and sixth here. The fifth principle is that "heterotopias presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable" (10). Usually the entry into a heterotopic site is not universal or free. They can be mandatory like prison, or they might require a rite of passage, such as membership rituals in a sports club. In order to get in, one might have to obtain permission or make gestures of a kind that garner such permission; to get into the village you have to sign up, wait for a call, and then follow certain rules, exchanging your labor for use of the village commons, put in a certain amount of time proving your value to the group, and then signing a document that symbolizes commitment to the group's core values. The sixth and last trait of heterotopias is that they function in relation to all the other space that remains. Either their role is to create an illusory space that exposes all the contents of real space, as

illusory in themselves – a place of critique, similarly to the clandestine and representational spaces in Lefebvre. Or they are real spaces, "crafted meticulously as if to scorn the messy jumbled actuality of real life."[5] In this sense, the village, and all intentional communities, are to some degree heterotopic in the way they must balance exterior governing building codes and fire regulations and unite with often counter views of social conduct or organization.

For Foucault, heterotopias, like Turner's communitas, are effective at the personal level of the actor and at a social-structural level. As a site with which to play out the fantasies of rejection and of unrestrained freedom, to imagine one's life as more empowered, more pagan, more wealthy, less confined or managed, as examples, actors can contest and reject in a critical and at the same time, ludic manner, the status quo.[6] Perhaps it is knit picking to suggest that for a scholar who eschewed the idea of grand foundations, the six elements of heterotopias seem very foundational, which might also explain why he so quickly abandoned these ideas. However, it is reasonable that like so many of his early ideas, later translated, his original intent was not the most valuable of the lessons to be learned. Topinka (2010) and St. John (2001) employ the idea of *alternative cultural heterotopias* to event such as Burning Man, a pagan festival in the US desert, and it might be argued the actions of Portland's urban re-claimers discussed earlier could be framed in this light. Insomuch as heterotopias suggest a destabilization of how actors look at fixed perceptions of social reality, they suggest that beginning with ideas, knowledge, at least, then, things can change.[7]

In Foucault's definition, Heterotopias are linked to all other spaces even though they are isolated.[8] When St. John and Hetherington (1997:41) for example, assert that

heterotopias exist "apart from central spaces that are seen to represent social order," the emphasis seems to be on this physical first space that *Of Other Places* suggests, the parkette or the shantytown on the outskirts of town, and not on the second space, that of knowledge creation, that imbricates not only with the formation of spaces, but with the actions of actors within them. In this sense, the claim that became Dignity Village presented alternative ideas about how to use space through collective action, which suggests a certain mental or ideological space, and then secured an actual physical space as the spatialization of new knowledge. The parkette is understood as a fun place for recreation and relaxation within an arrangement of various other spaces; the skyscrapers, the factories, the streets; capital, labour, death, but the village is not so clearly separate.[9]

The very effectiveness of heterotopias rests in the fact that they are not utopias. As an unreal space, utopias exist as fantasy worlds outside of extant power and systems of order. They cannot challenge order since they are not implicated in it. But heterotopias offer alternate versions of order, not anti-order. They may be counter-hegemonic, but they are tied to hegemony and it is out of this necessary relational tension that the heterotopia first finds its existence rationalized, and then constructs its actions that define it as resistance or as a counter-site. Recall that Foucault says, heterotopias "function in relation to all other sites that remain" (1967:7). Topinka astutely points out that what such counter sites do is make visible the "formations of received knowledge, and thus represents a confrontation with knowledge production that promises new information. Yet these formulations will not shed the dominant order" (60). Foucault had said,

"To analyze 'regimes of practices' mean to analyze programmes of conduct which have both prescriptive effects regarding what is to be done and codifying effects regarding what is to be known" (1991a [1980]:75).

Both communitas and heterotopias are interesting ways to understand the spaces and places that the Dignity homeless people experience. As much as they ostensibly have incorporated democracy, their performance of it is so flawed that is hardly "as yet to come," but in my mind, it *has yet to arrive at all*. I have tried to show how the shantytown, Dignity Village can be reasonably understood for some of the ways these models of space and liminality apply to it, or it to them as it were. However, none of these ways of looking at space on their own is adequate for understanding the village or the liminality it produces. The village is not temporary, even if people are supposed to be there temporarily. It has been there twelve years and does not move. It has few rituals and rites of passage, but the experience of these by villagers is not uniform or managed well, and they rarely succeed the interstructural role they have when they enter. That is; they rarely actually perform the duties of members, nor do they transcend their homelessness by becoming housed in conventional worthy places. Furthermore, and most importantly, communitas, and temporary heterotopias do not end with people on the streets or regressing backwards into a structurally permanent liminality. In her Masters Thesis, Jessica McCaffrey discusses how she followed several *Burning Man* devotees back into their lives in Montreal, had meals at their homes, and more or less experienced them in their conventionally lived lives (McCaffrey 2012). Temporary spatializations like Burning Man, would cease to be if this conventional life was absent because there would be no need for them as sites of counter conduct, nor would their followers likely be able to venture there if they were not employed or otherwise resourced.

There is nothing *essentially* ludic or anti-structural about the village. As Brad Powell said in chapter two it is there to give people structure. It is failing to do that. It is not a celebration or a festival though it tries to use these from time to time, to make money or to promote itself. The homelessness that sent people to the village was anti-structural, a threat to order, so the village was arranged in a manner we discussed at length in chapter six, as a point, a node, a level, a place, within the structure of housing governance, specifically designed to manage liminality, perpetually, not as something that emerged as an inversion or challenge to order. It was from the moment it codified its existence in the legal and spatial discourse of the city, a part of the de facto housing system. This recognition opens up the village to a number of ways that it sits in and out of that system, which we investigate shortly.

7.4 Spaces More Generally - Everything is Possible

Recall that Soja (1996) described *Thirdspace* as a means of uniting Lefebvrian and Foucauldian spatial modes into a flexible and progressive way of looking at matters of spatial justice, which overcomes the Firstspace-Secondspace myopia. Lefebvre (1974) offered a category called *representational space*; a type of mental category of space that includes ideas and creativity, and which constitutes the place of artisans, political plots and clandestine activity in neocapitalist cities. Foucault's heterotopia, is a temporary locality-based space of action where members invert, play with, try on and often reorder social and political practices that occur in society at large as a from of resistance to extreme power that borders on domination (1986a). In Dignity's case, the villager is constantly looking outwards at a world in which they cannot find relevance, and at

conventional identities that continue to elude them, but is free to assume various roles and statuses in the village or at least that is one of the ways I understand it, as a mirror of sorts - a between world, where all such imaginings are possible. Meaning, as I have argued earlier is essentially a pragmatic concern in the sense that one is making sense of the world. This as a type of critique is polyvalent and unstable, and so it changes over time and in response to what people think about time spent in space(s). Earlier in chapters two and four, the two Brads, and I apologize for using their transcripts and the nominal confusion, both discuss what the space is supposed to produce. Brad Gibson says it is supposed to produce activists but only produces deadbeats who come there for the cheap rent. Brad Powell sees it as the chance to change the world, but after a time, a year or so, is disillusioned and victim to the village's drug culture. Today he is accused of being its central drug dealer. Understanding space then, and life in space as a certain way that people become oriented towards meaning, cannot be achieved by fitting space into narrow containers. Once again, we need to see diversity. There are ways,

> Soja has said, "I define Thirdspace as an-Other way of understanding and acting to change the spatiality of human life, a distinct mode of critical spatial awareness that is appropriate to the new scope and significance being brought about in the rebalanced trialectices of spatiality–historicality–sociality" (1996:57).

Thirdspace is meant to engage, critique and synthesize cultural and spatial boundaries into inclusive spatializations of experience. The application of the concept to understand spaces means that one can look at the same community, but from differing points of interpretation. He called this approach, "thirding" and it is exactly the kind of critique that undergirds the diverse positions taken by opposing points of views in the debates over Dignity Village's right to be.

Soja, (2011:114) said,

"I just want to address briefly the notion of "heterotopia", which has become a very widely used (and, I think, abused) term in the contemporary literature on space and cities. The term is usually taken from Foucault and applied as if it signified a particular material site, location, or territory with special qualities. In a manner very similar to this usage of heterotopia, I am often asked "does place X or site Y fit your definition of a Thirdspace?" There is no direct answer here, for all spaces can be seen as Third spaces or heterotopias depending on the scope of one's critical geographical imagination, the perspective one has on how far one can reach with a critical spatial perspective. Heterotopias are what you open up to view when you look at space heterotopologically, whether you are looking at an asylum, a garden, a boat, or Los Angeles."

In clarifying what he means by Thirdspace, Soja says,

"All three of the spaces I discuss in Thirdspace are perspectives, different ways in which observers look at and interpret space. The main historical observation I make is that until recently most observers/scholars looked at space in only two broadways, either as material forms (things in space) or as imagined representations of material space (thoughts about space). What I argue, following Lefebvre and Foucault's lead, is that there is another, different perspective that sees space as fully lived, as things in and thoughts about space and more. And also, that this Thirdspace perspective gives to space the same scope and critical importance that Western social theory and philosophy have given to time and history for more than a hundred years. If one does not have this broader perspective, the arguments against the privileging of time over space, history over geography, are not very convincing" (114).

Because of the heterotopic, representational, and structural ways that the village imbricates with conventional imaginaries and broader strategies of housing governance, following Soja (1996) then, understanding the critiques that attach to the village, and those produced in the village requires a thirding perspective that gives equal weight to the many ways the village can bee seen as a spatial and temporal object. Having stayed there and studied it for some time, *I* cannot see it in a festive, ludic or temporary liminality. This is a space of endemic and enduring liminality. Yet, since people occupy it, and power is relational, there is critical capacity and critical potential in the village. I think what we are witnessing is the creation of a whole new space devoted to a spatialization of

broadly based liminality, similar to what happened after the Civil War and the Great Depression with Hobo camps and Shantytowns or Hoovervilles. In those cases, tolerance of these communities was short-lived, and as soon as the state could eliminate them, just as with Tent City in Toronto, they were ambitiously paved to the ground. However, unlike Tent City, or Dignity Village, those older camps were not understood by the state as the harbingers of social critique to the same degree that are current forms.

7.5 The Death Blow?

In the months that followed my departure in July 2011 participants and I had dozens of conversations about what transitional means, what their rights as a corporation were, but the village, as was usual did nothing about getting a lawyer to vet the impending contract, or to meet with the city and voice their concerns. The city imposed the new version of the contract, which we have seen in chapter 6, by insisting it be signed by a certain deadline, or else withdrawn. Mitch Grubic had become CEO and was a capable leader, if not too authoritarian for some people. Rocky, had said he had "that God thing." Under his watch and partly driven by his ego, he tried to start enforcing rules in the village. In his words, "it was impossible to do this because I would have had to kick everyone out." Because the village was so poorly organized, they did very little in the six months they had to write a response to the contract. This is by now, the way things are done, or perhaps more correctly, not done in the village. Mitch could not do everything. His fellow council members were guessing at how to do their jobs. There is no guidebook or instructor's manual for how to bookkeep, or do the monthly and quarterly reports. There was never a formally organized procedure for teaching these skills, yet

government there demands some skills. The founders, many of them, developed the system and so the skills they had were built into how they imagined the administrative system. Leaders are supposed to share with members these skills, but once again there is no institutionalized structure for helping people transit into roles. The roles fall onto them, without a liminal period where they learn what the role means by skilled leaders and practitioners. Two secretaries and three treasurers were asked to leave the village because their incapacity to do their job well had appeared to be malfeasance. In short, there was no system for learning what needed to be known to run the camp.

Church et al (2008:3) suggest that informal learning is any process by which learning occurs outside of formal school or educational settings. I had wanted to think this work through in those lines, except that in the village, there was a de facto absence of "learning;" there was the need to learn, and people who could help, including Ibrahim, me, Wendy and Heather, and a number of local activist supporters, offered and tried to force the villagers to "learn," but there was a clearly absent desire on the part of the village as a group to do so. Then there was too the very debilitating effects of having the majority of villagers stoned, drunk or high most of the time, and then many of them too, suffered learning disabilities and psychiatric issues that contributed to an inability to learn. Mitch, Brad Gibson and Ptery were the only ones who ventured out to learn how to lead, going to leadership meetings at R2DTOO and other housing activist groups. As a result they appeared to have the knowledge to carry the village into a new phase of critical engagement and power within the city's strategic plan. With a thirty day grace period expended, in early December 2012, Mitch in a final act as CEO of the village, signed the new contact without fighting for any changes to the transitional language.

With a promise from the city not to move anyone who was there for at least three years, the contract was signed. At the end of Mitch's term as president in December of 2012, Brad Gibson was elected as CEO, Ptery was elected as treasurer, Scot and Lisa were elected as secretary and Outreach officer and Dave Samson was elected as Security Officer. During this transition, several of the older members left the village under suspicion of malfeasance and other wrongdoing. The city was dubious about the village's viability under such improprieties. Under fear of prosecution, they left. Some went to family, most to the streets. In the next six months, a dozen new members came in, several of whom had been there before and were anxious to get involved in outreach and activist activities. In the same period as well, Occupy Portland had established itself in the city and in 2012 - 2013, while Occupy camps were disappearing elsewhere, in Portland, its influence was still salient. Ibrahim's R2DTOO was going strong. While Ibrahim and 50 other squatters were tactically displacing power downtown, they were incorporating a few participants from Dignity Village into their action (Brad and Ptery were most active - See DS DISC 2, parts 1 and 2) and villagers were given an active site on which to learn about being activists again. Furthermore, the attention that R2DTOO brought to the continuous plight of the street poor, shed more light on Dignity Village, an intense scrutiny again, that raised questions within the village about what they really wanted from housing and how far they were willing to go to get it.

And then there was the book, *Dignity in Exile*. We have read some excerpts from it in this dissertation. I had sent several copies to the village and most villagers had read it. Activists and other housing advocates read it, and a new series of conversations began between the villagers and me, especially about where to go, how to proceed now that the

latest contract had been signed, and villagers had by then thought of themselves as residents of an explicitly defined transitional camp. What would the ideal homeless camp look like they wondered?

Bogged down by the city's rewording of the contract, villagers began to ask themselves what transitional meant to them as individuals. They were reaching a certain anomie to borrow Durkheim's use, where they knew what they wanted as an endgame but had neither the ritual nor the practices in place to get them there. They understood that in the discourse of the contract and the views of governance they were liminal personae, expected to move on after a suitable period in the village. There were several strategies available to them. They could do nothing and get high all the time. They could put their names on waiting lists and hopefully get housing before the contract expired. They could organize and start to fight for the health and longevity of the community—they could do the hard work of fixing what was broken and prove themselves worthy once again of the displacement they had earned so long ago, and in so doing infuse the critique with their own terms once again. By all accounts this was a difficult period and very clear cleavages formed. The most dynamic cleavage was between those villagers who were willing to "activate" and those who through drug alliances and their status as old timers were empowered by the village, and who were either too shortsighted or too optimistic to realize the serious conditions this contract placed on their future. They argued that the contracts were always there to keep them in line, and this was yet "just another. There would be more."

In the depths of a certain crisis of community, villagers made inquiries to Kwamba, and to me about the direction the village might take. And as this was happening, Eugene

and Ashland Oregon were seeking the advice of Dave Samson, Brad Gibson, Ibrahim, Ptery and a few other Dignity activists in order to inform these cities' own plans to build intentional homeless camps. At the request of the leadership at the village and as a way to help finalize my own research we agreed to have a series of conversations about Dignity Village and what the future might hold. I basically asked them, "What is going on there now, and what would you do to fix it?"

As Shorty, the last remaining original member of the village said:

"You know, this place has been many things. It was a camp, then a shantytown. They called us transitional to fit into the language of their laws, but they never enforced it. So, people are used to living here. It's our homes. And even last year, when the contract came up for renewal, they suggested taking out the word transitional because, for sure, it wasn't working like, to get folks back into houses. So they was content to keep it as was. They even wanted to take 'transitional' out. And this is what is really scary to us… you know, they have the power. They can tell us what we are and how we are, uh, how we should be. Someone somewhere doesn't like what we are doing here, and maybe they are afraid that too many of us, places like this are popping up, or will. But now they are gonna tell us that we are nothing more than a shelter. They are turning us into a part of their shelter system. Not only are they telling us we have to be transitional, they told us it has to be in two years. It's scary. Scary, you know. Most of us won't be able to find a place, and the few that do will end up in shit holes." (Shorty left a few weeks ago [June 2013] to live with a friend, because the drug gangs and emotional violence in the village was too much for him).

Most of the immediate replies I received from villagers reiterated what I had been told in 2011 by Ken, a long-term member.

Fig. 34. Ken, 2011. (N. Dickson).

July 2011 - Ken has been at the village for four years. He's a big unkempt man. He walks with a cane. Seven years earlier, he came to Oregon to work with his brother, but the job fell through. He ended up living under the Burnside Bridge and various parks. The cops used to come by usually around three in the morning to roust the sleepers. There were a lot of them he says. "It was crazy, chaos." He came to the village because he got tired of being rousted.

"So what was the vibe like in the village then?" I asked.

"Phew. A lot better than it is now."

"How would you describe the vibe now?"

He looks down. Shakes his head. A deep sigh. " The politics are outta control. I don't go to the meetings unless I absolutely have to."

"Do you feel like it's futile to go to the meetings?"

Quietly. Reserved. "Yeah…"

"What makes it so futile?" I ask.

"People constantly at each other's throats. Just the politics are getting outta hand."

"Do you think it would be better if more people were involved in the council. If the council was bigger than as small as it is?" He looks around to see who's listening. No one was around.

" Yeah, but.. the biggest thing I've noticed is the drug problem. There's too many people using that stuff in here… it's a violation of rule 3.'

I interrupt him, "but don't you drink beer?"

He looks at me like I should know everyone does. "Sometimes but I can safely say that in 34 years I have been alive, I have never used drugs."

I look at him away from the lens of my camera. "But its not a secret that people here are doing drugs - people admit it then deny and admit it and - how do you think it translates into a political problem, the drug problem?"

"Its not so much it's a political problem as it effects people's judgment. You know everybody's got their own little cliques around here. Everyone that's on the council with the exception of a couple is in their own little clique."

I offer, "And the cliques are based on support related to certain resources like drugs or something?"
"Some of them, yeah."
I agree with him that hard drugs are a real problem for the village, "But the bylaw that says 'you can't have any beer or drugs' is a little unrealistic, because everyone smokes dope or drinks beer here., right?
"Almost everyone," he adds.
He sounds to me like he is trying to convince himself, as if it is important that not everyone does drugs. "Not everyone, but close."
"Can you tell me a bit about the IR system?"
He cuts me off—with an instructive outstretched hand.
"I've written one IR since I got here, I don't like them."
"And can you tell me what's an IR?"
It's an incident report. People write up IRs on other people for violating rules around the village. Pet Rules… ah violating the five basic rules, you know…stuff like that"
I ask him, "But isn't the fact that they have IRs a good way to stop people from conflicting directly –
Yeah well a lot of the time those IRs are frivolous – they write 'em just to be pain in the ass. "
I ask, "So they are not really used to mediate conflict, which is what they were for…"
"Right.. see what we're trying to do is set up a committee to investigate the IRs once they're written before they actually go up in front of the council. Because a lot of these IRs are like I said, frivolous. They write 'em just to be MEAN. I've had IRs written on me because people didn't like me. A couple of months back I had my house broken into. They took almost a thousand dollars worth of my electronics. They took my netbook, my PSB, and my Internet modem…. I just called the police and gave them the serial numbers. Which means if they try and sell it a pawn shop the serial numbers will be flagged."
"How common is that sort of thing around here?"
Unfortunately it's pretty common as of late.
"It wasn't that way before," I said.
"No, it … you know when I first got here you could walk out of the village all day long and leave your door standing wide open and come back and everything would be right where it was. But now you know if I leave my house even for a second, I'll lock it up. "
"So let me ask you a question. Do you think we should have more Dignity Villages… here now this place, should there be more?"
"Well they could actually set another one up in Portland because the city's zoned for two of these.
"Well do you think they should? Knowing what you know about this place now, and the way it runs and all the crap that's going on these days, do you think it's a good idea?"
"Well I think if they could take 8 to 12 individuals from here that are really committed to the village itself and set up another site somewhere, I think it could happen."
I agree: "Right, that way, they could start and invigilate the rules properly, it could happen…because it's kind of hard to go backwards. This place kinda feels like it's imploding."
He is nodding his head pensively but agreeably the whole time.

"Well its lot better than when it started…you know they stared out underneath the Morrison Bridge (They moved shortly after to the Fremont)."
"No, that's not what I mean. I mean it was functioning like a community far better 4 years ago, 3 years ago 2 years ago… in the last two years it hasn't really been much of a community. And a lot of people are saying that's when the meth started."
He is not sure it has anything to do with the drugs. He is pretty sure the drug use is because of a certain hopelessness that people have about the possibility of leaving there and finding anything better.
" I think with the economy, the jobs and everything, it's affecting everyone's judgment.
I ask him, "So it's a question of judgment? People are making poor decisions?"
"Yeah. But that's just my opinion, and you know what they say about opinions…"

I do not want to sound repetitive. I really do not. If Ken's words sound familiar, it is because they *are all too familiar*. Addiction is partly a psychological and somatic dependence on substances, but in this case, is symptomatic of an underlying and fundamental disconnect that people have with their surroundings. I talked earlier about my own addictions and those of others, and it should be clear that having a beer or smoking marijuana on a Sunday afternoon with no responsibilities, for fun, what we call recreational use, is not what Ken or the others refer to as the drug problem in the village. They are talking primarily of a meth-amphetamine epidemic. When he refers to the village being a better place in the past, it was because during that time they had goals - they were building a community - literally cooperating and help each other build structures and figuring ways to get fed; they were helping other homeless people who came to the village or by going into the community and offering help. They were out in the community looking for support, and otherwise "activating" as Brad and others have put it.

My short visit there in 2010 was the last period that saw any building in the community, and any effort to build relations outside of the community. The former observation is because they were building the greenhouse which was the last new

structure permitted on the grounds; the latter is because the city was about to extend their contract and the villagers had to clean up the place and get outside of the gates to make sure they had support from the rest of the housing community. This lasted for two months during June and July 2011. These contract inspections were periods when the community had to act critically and it was surprising how much power that generated for them. That temporary contract was offered, a number of new supporters came on board and for a short interlude the village was like it was in the old days. This was the village I saw in June of 2010.

By January of 2011, feeling safe in yet another temporary contract and under the leadership of John Boy's meth faction, the village was a totally different creature. And it had remained in the place Ken talks about, and that you have read about, since then. These events that I just mentioned should indicate that drugs are only a superficial symptom of what happens when there is no transformative or super-liminal experiences in which villagers must partake. As Ibrahim said much earlier, it is necessary to fight for freedom and work for liberty. When the village has a contract and supporters are sending them food and clothing, what need is there really to surpass limbo? So I have been asking them over the last 24 months, what they intended to do about the stagnation, because those with whom I share the most, agreed that the epidemic was about limbo, even if what the world saw was drug use.

7.6 What Are the Practical Implications of Thinking About the Village Differently?

It comes down to the contract and the right and freedoms that are encoded - and then too, to the willingness of the city or the villagers to fight respectively for those they hold

dear to them. While Brad was CEO, we talked often because city representatives had been inspecting the village and suggesting directly - asking - them to join up on housing wait lists. They had been stressing the transitional definition of how life was *supposed to be lived there*. I jotted on a note after a phone call with Samson and then Brad,

Villagers were being asked, perhaps told, to think of the village in alternate terms. The group was pretty nervous and everything they say is all about the village, all about the contract, all about what to do. I told Brad it was time to think pragmatically and he said, "It was a pretty God-pragdammic time, for the village, a real challenge to his emotions."

We talked about the contract, and he said,

" They hold this up to us like a threat, as a way to remind us who's ultimately in charge. But they wouldn't dare kick someone else out. No way. They couldn't handle the repercussions in the press. The village. Now that's a different matter. The village has got five more years. They want us off of here and moved, or gone in five years. (the contract said 3 at that time, 1.5 now - he was being optimistic) If we don't find a place for the community, they can say we failed because we as a group had ample notice, and maybe we weren't viable as a community anymore. But no way they can pick on people like they are black sheep and force them out of here. Even if it is in writing. All that section of the contract does is make people walk around in a dirge, so they got no motivation to do nuthin. And so now when we try to get them motivated, it's like zapping a sleeping dog with a prod, it just gits up, shuffles over to another corner and goes back to sleep. They don't know or want to believe that they have rights and this contract doesn't mean the end of anything. We have paper, see. We're a 501-C3 non-profit and even if they wiped us out tomorrow, that paper is in good standing, so the village goes on, just as long as there is people willing to fight for it and to support it. Maybe not here. Maybe somewhere else. "

If the state manages to produce the dirge, the first thing critique must do is expose this fact, and make villagers aware of their need to resist it. Recall that governments work "through practices of freedom and states of domination, forms of subjection and subjectification" (Dean 1999:46). Brad and Ptery, each having spent considerable portions of the two years since I had met them with Ibrahim and other community activists, through Brad's office as CEO, were trying to introduce policies and practices

that got "people thinking." They introduced conversations about rehabilitation, psychiatric supports and cleaning up the village, in addition to reiterating the village's commitment to community service as a basic requirement of membership. Brad took charge of the computers and other communal devices making sure they were working properly and not misused. *Things* went missing often, and when sponsors were giving the village 52 inch TVs and remote controls, iPads and other objects to share, and these things broke from misuse, or disappeared, it was a problem. It was not like they could pay to repair them, and worse was the fact that such mistreatment of donations meant that some villagers were abusing privileges at others' expense. So Brad started organizing tools, machines, electronics and other community property. Organizing, to him, meant storing things in his office or at home so they weren't misused. He spent a lot of time working at the R2DTOO campsite, going to local community meetings and even helped plan the actions of R2DTOO as a means to keep alive the link between Dignity Village and other actions. To their credit, a few of the other faction leaders participated. They didn't stick it out, appearing at two protests only, but even this was an improvement. While Brad was trying to run things like a business, Ptery was spending most of his time working in a local wellness center and advocating for various groups, especially R2DTOO and City Repair.

There had been a transition in membership too. I mentioned that several residents were removed. Two died. Three others left to get into city housing spaces. And several others left on their own to get out of the "dirge." Of the 56 who were there when I was, 23 new members had joined the village by January of 2013. Of course, because the village keeps terrible records, this is hard to verify. I did a head count by video at a

membership meeting, and it seems accurate. A problem had been emerging in the village; most of these new members were fresh from the streets, and all had addiction or mental health issues of one kind or another. Though I was not there to witness it, each week I would talk to different villagers who described how new alliances were forming in the village again, around drugs and "promises" to be given shacks of their own ahead of the line as it were - patronage, village style. While Brad was out trying to "activate," his discussions and invitations to bring outside help into the village, including and this is crucial, a joint effort by him, Ptery and a few community activists to get community health service to help in a village wide drug intervention, became a widely speculated rumor.

One can see from the few stories I have told, that Brad was acting in ways that broke with the habitus of the village. What was he doing? He was trying to clean up the village, including his own addictions; he was trying to manage the affairs of the village by actually taking control over resources and management procedures, he was trying to reactivate the village's promise to be a part of the community. In a sort of anti-Bourdieusen break with habitus, he was trying to get villagers to be activists in their own affairs and the affairs of the village, because he recognized just how mired in this liminal dirge (dirge as habitus?) they had become as a result of long term structural conditions that held no promise of emancipation from poverty or homelessness. Most importantly, Brad and the other activists, Samson, Ptery, and most of us supporters had suggested bringing in outside advisors to help run certain aspects of the village such as bookkeeping, and general maintenance, and also to sit on council as a way to rebalance the way decisions are made. These measures were things he talked about with the villagers but as

ways of overcoming the dirge. But most villagers, who were in the dirge, also were in denial about it. This structural liminality, the threat of the contract, the drug epidemic, the loss of supporters, in short this dirge, once again, was produced by the city's long-term control over the village, the lack of any real supports or "aftercare" plan for villagers, except the long-shot of finding housing, and then there was its isolation to the margins that gave people a reason not to go downtown and activate. Most importantly, strong leadership and legitimate authority had come to mean little in the village, and in its place was the perpetual angst between uncooperative factions who seeded council with their members.

All of these impediments to developing fully participative political subjects were, as I have shown, built into the city's strategy for experimenting with intentional community, even if this capacity was merely immanent. To be an active citizen in the village, to follow that habitus, if you will, had come to mean locking yourself into the limited political roles as citizens in the village, and to perform only minimal sweat equity as the measure of good conduct. If one thinks of the amount of time that takes, to sit in on village meetings (4 hours per month), or sweat equity exchanged for rent, (40 hours per month) that leaves a great deal of time, to do other things such as picking up garbage, or tending the gardens, or generally "picking up the slack."

I wrote in my notes, several times that the village "was like a summer camp for troubled teens", or "they acted like spoiled children." Even Ibrahim said in the transcript we read, that in the village, they have "silver spoons in they mouths." If governmentality is real, then why were some of the villagers working towards conduct by exercising their critical attitude that Foucault had said was part of the care of the self, and therefore part

of the conduct towards others, and others were not. Surely some of this divergence was because they were, as Dave said, a heterogeneous group, some new to homelessness or the village and thereby infected with intense survival anxieties, and others with longer term residency, capable of seeing outside of the fog of the street mentality. Unfortunately, even long-term villagers were not looking after themselves very well. The only villagers I knew who were overcoming the dirge were those who were actively fighting to wipe it out - to open the village up to new possibilities. Dave Samson, Mitch Grubic, Ptery and Brad Gibson, all of whom had become key council members. With the new members in 2012 and 2013 came a few other members who joined in expressing an alternative path for the village. "New Larry," as he called himself, "Dog Dave," and a man named "Chuck" were joining with Brad and the others in discussions about how to kill the dirge. Dog Dave had been at the village years earlier when it was still under construction. He wanted to get that vibe back. Like Samson, he had returned to the village a second time. It was with this group that I had my series of conversations about what directions they wanted to take the village. It was essentially a pragmatic exercise – we shared ideas on how we understood the village, and how it might work differently.

January 22, 2013. Skype Conference.
(Participants: Brad Gibson, Ptery, Jeff, "Dog Dave", Dave Samson, Lisa, Scot, and a few other unnamed participants).

It's midday. They are talking to me from the commons room at Dignity Village.]

I mention, "Well you have a had a new election and from my point of view it seems to have worked out really well for you. From my point of view its seems to be a really great mix of people."

Lisa says, in a humorous tone, "A motley crew?" But she is participating on camera with them, as a part of that team. That in itself is noteworthy since when I was there, she and Scot both had a great deal of distrust for Ptery and Brad's activism. Now, Brad was the CEO and Ptery was treasurer and Lisa was Secretary, and they were working together on cleaning up the village's affairs and image.

Brad says, “The first council meeting went off without a hitch. It was a pleasurable meeting. The first one I had here actually. there was more communication, everyone worked it out; we were doing our human resources stuff, assigning jobs, making sure everyone got in the right place. And it went off without a hitch!”
Samson pipes up, “We do still have the torches and pitchforks on the ready just in case things do go.”

I expressed my concerns,
“Okay so I am concerned for a bunch of reasons. One is the contract automatically puts limits on your freedom and autonomy so I question the degree to whether you can fulfill this idyllic mandate that the founders had 11 years ago... There are two questions; one is how realistic is it for you guys to consider yourselves an alternative housing project, when the city is trying to impose all these standards on you? The other one; I, you seem to recognize that in order to carry this project forward you need to kind of leave the village and take it elsewhere and start fresh and I am wondering what you would do in the new project that you would do differently than now?

Brad pipes up - very directly, “NOT HAVE A CONTRACT WITH THE CITY!”

They all laugh, and “Dog Dave,” lurking in the background adds, “ On private land there is no need for a private contract with the city.” “He was one of the original founders,” Ptery adds in the background. I recall Dave’s voice from the tapes Kwamba made. He confirms that it was a different place in those early years, a period when building community, literally, also meant building community, spiritually, and that was the “dead zone” the village had to fight now as he saw it. He rightly pointed out that back then they were expected to fail at certain things because no one had done this kind of thing before, but now after so many years, the public and other homeless people had watched the place “kind of stagnate.” The way he described it as a temporary place but permanent fixture in the activist mentality rang true. “It’s impossible to define this place. It pisses me off you ask us what it means,” a Villager had once said to me. At some point later, off of Skype we had discussed, Brad, me, Jeff and Dave, how the village had to “try on a bunch of hats,” that it was a place where people had to try on many hats because “homelessness kind of rips that stuff you know about yourself, out of you, and ya gotta

put it back in somehow, from the whole world, you know out there, you're in here, and you have to stick that toe in the water and get wet a little to see if you wanna swim." I suggested that the original plan won't work there because its gone so far in the other direction that you just can't step back.

I have spoken about the goals and desires of planners several times in this dissertation. A closer review of the planning documents reveals that they used terms such as, stability, safety and self-governed, which at the time of the planning, city councilors had doubted possible in populations of long term homeless people. The ethnographic excerpts presented here, tend to support these doubts. When I reiterated to Dog Dave that it would be impossible to create the conditions of stability and harmony they had envisioned because the village dynamic was irreversible, he seemed to be speaking in different terms, as if the size or location of the place would have implications on the factions and lack of communicative action in the village. While I disagreed with him about the focus of his analysis, I agreed with him, Soja, Foucault, Lefebvre, that space is not some cold abject lifeless material, but is meaningful in its imbrication with time; each of which ascertain value by how life of all kinds is experienced in, through, around, because of them. Dave had felt that the village space needed to be bigger, in spatial terms, more land, whereas I felt they could expand performative experiences on the same space to improve things.

"Well it's partly that, " he says, "and it's partly that there just is no room to grow, to develop that vision."

I ask, "And so when you guys talk to the city now is that the image you are presenting them to now?"

Brad tells me that they are just trying to avoid contacting the city too much right then—they just want to get everything in order in the village so the city doesn't invoke its punitive measures and restrictions - so they don't clamp down hard on the village. The new leadership wants to get the village "in line" with the demands of the contract so they

know where they will be sleeping for the next couple of years. "I imagine we will have further conversations, at some point down the line pertaining to this, but at present we have no plans …" says Brad.

"And what happened with Eugene and Ashland?" I ask. During our last conversation, just around the time of the book launch in October 2012, they had invited me to come live with them when they moved to a proposed camp in Ashland slated for 2013. Ptery answered my query by telling me that Ashland had decided to build an emergency day shelter program instead of a permanent camp. Eugene was still in the market for a new intentional site on which to house homeless people. The camp would be run for the city through intermediate agencies and NPOs. It would be self-managed but steered by a joint board. The permits were passed and it was at that time on church property while the city, the church and other NPOs tried to implement a management plan.

"Sounds like a shelter to me." I said.

For the village, as far as this PEOC is concerned, I had wanted the villagers to understand that, based on my observation of Portlanders, the city council, the advocates and the village, all that was required to get more support was goodwill and a willingness to make critique – to show up and state your position, with some regularity. Goodwill, through acts of community well-being and good corporate citizenship, not just direct resistance through protest in this case ironically was the key to displacing opposing power. If the city had been unwilling to take the village seriously as a good member of the Portland community, then the village had to change that knowledge.

I sum it up thus, "I understand that the city wants to treat you as part of the shelter system, but that's not what you want, that's what you want to overcome, correct?

Absolutely, correct, they all agree.

Brad confirms, "And we don't get any of the VSG's, (Village support grants) or any of the other monies that other shelters get, we are totally separate from them. And they stick us out there on our own, and the want to pin their name on us…and that is not right."

"Right so I thought. "You know I had a chat with Ptery about this before I left. That I thought the payoff for people at the village wasn't just that they were finding a place that was safer than living off the streets -- it worked at whole other level.. You know for Lisa it was the kind of place she could come and find her voice-- and for you Brad, you know you came there, and you been there for three years now and now you have a top managerial position and that's pretty cool, and Ptery found a place where he could bring information from the outside to people who needed to know, you found a safe home – so it's the kind of place that works at these personal levels…it doesn't help if I write my book and I write my dissertation and you guys aren't out there carrying your own personal message. I mean, personally going out and getting to know guys on the street—and I am not talking about recruiting, I am just talking about doing outreach—you know like how the Three Amigos (Christian bible group who brings food on Thursdays) come and bring dinner to you guys? I'm not saying their (religious) motives are cool, but I think if Dignity Village was known amongst the community as giving back, that it would be easier for you to ask, and to get zoning.

Ptery adds, "There was good will in the beginning. 11 years ago, when the village (was still temporary and camped in downtown parks) provided security for the warehouses and business in the downtown area. But that had changed because out there on the present site, there is no local community in which to demonstrate good will. That whole function was lost… by being out here."

"So the village has to find something else to give back," I add. "It doesn't matter if you write your own articles and post them, or if one of the papers does it, once a week a bunch of you goes out with sacks on your back to give back to some of the poorest still suffering in Portland—and I am going to tell you that if you guys keep doing that for four or five months, you're gonna have more support than you ever dreamed of. And that's what critical action is all about. You are not doing this to buy a new car. You are doing this to get support to provide a new village for more housing for more people."

Brad asserts, "And that's what I did. Me and Ptery went out and help to start a new organization (in Eugene) … and it has,…

Ptery interrupts him.. I think he is getting the point at least. He says to Brad. "But they don't have our story on it, they don't know it's us (the village) doing it.. We are not known for doing that—we are not known for that. We need to correct that."

I suggest that if they want to brand the village they need to brand it as future looking, and as gracious, "because out there they want to know that you guys are working hard and grateful for the opportunities that you do have…"

Dog Dave pipes in.. "its hard to move ahead with a noose around your neck."

I agree with him, but I suggest the contract is the real noose. He disagrees. He thinks the noose is the location. "We can't move forward with anything we are talking about from here."

So I agree with that also, but that is not what stops the action.

"So I think part of critical action is acting strategically and having tactics—the strategy is to get new lands, and now you have to employ tactics to help get it. So one of the tactics is to get out there as Dignity Village, not one or two guys from Dignity Village,

representatives of Dignity Village going out and helping the community and helping it on your own, a completely unilateral effort."

Dave seems to missing this point. He goes on about how they have found locations and are looking at tactics for getting pieces of land, but he is not willing to entertain that the village still needs to unite with the critical action of other homeless in Portland. He is fixated on the schematic drawings and the design of the green sustainable village envisioned back in 2001. Caught up in that utopian imagery, it is easy to not to see the dirty hard work that ensures that the village generates the critique to continuously displace power.

But Brad understands. So Does Ptery and the few others who remained for the duration of this conversation. I can see them nodding their heads and making notes on pads and on scraps of cardboard, over the screen, over Skype.

Brad says, "Right, they gotta be more behind the Movement. It's there." There is a brief pause. I see a few of the villagers shuffle through the door. Mitch, Lisa and Scot, and a new member named Nancy. I could sense they did not like what we were talking abut or where this discussion was going. They say they need a break. "It's been a long and heated discussion", but I knew them. I wrote about them. We hung out together for two months. Scot especially did not get this "whole activism thing."

On May 28, 2013, just 5 months later, Brad's colleagues on council approached me by phone, text, email and Skype to participate as an advisor in the impeachment proceedings against its current Chief Executive Officer, the same, Brad Gibson. With me, the video archivists of the village, Kwamba Productions, and a few other supporters of the village were asked to "be critical" and to offer advice on not only regarding the procedural validity of the impeachment, that is; whether or not the villagers were adhering to strict codes embedded in its articles of incorporation as a democratic membership run community, but also to gauge whether the accusations had real merit. They were grappling with new and old visions of what the village means; Brad's traditionally rooted activist, "take-charge of the drugs and sloth" fervor (as he put it), and the do-little-or-nothing attitude of the drug factions. For my own part, I reiterated that I had a right to share my opinion on the poor image these constant political fights in the village were casting outside of the village. In short, they had wanted those of us who had critically experienced life in the village to enter their critique of the leadership as part of

their own critique of how the village should be run. "Is it consistent," asked one accuser, "what do you think the implications will be?" asked another. "You should know, you lived here, you know what people are like, you know what we are supposed to be about, do you think we are justified?" They had created fantasies about Brad stealing tools and the iPad. His defense was that he was sick and tired of watching people break things and lose tools "because they just get 'em too easy," and so he was storing things of real value in the village offices. There were other accusations, other defenses, all moot. In the village, if a faction wants you out, they will get a majority of the village to vote you out. It is that simple.

In the end, a faction created illegitimate accusations against Brad, managed to get a majority of their followers to vote against him, and against all of the experts' advise against this, they impeached him too. He was the fourth CEO to be removed prematurely in the last six years. Not too many democracies could survive that in the real world. Mitch Grubic, Lisa Larson, Scot and the new person Nancy, the same group who had abandoned our conversation noted above, led the impeachment. They are now the leadership of the council. [10]

7.7 Summing Up: R2DTOO and Opportunity Village

That was three months ago. The village drags along in the dirge. In that period, Ibrahim's R2DTOO tent camp has been leading the critical front in Portland. In 2011, they had basically leased a piece of land from a disgruntled landowner and had put up 50 tents with some common services such as a shower and a kitchen. It looks like what many of the Occupy camps did, though R2DTOO had been there earlier. It has been the

subject of city by-law fines and numerous articles, news stories and tours from all over the world. As Ibrahim describes it to me but in my words: it is not a village, or a transitional camp. It is not zoned as such, but fights for the right to be an emergency shelter and warming station. People who use the camp are divided into two categories. The first group are hard core lifers, mostly men on the streets who are not going anywhere - have resolved themselves to the inevitability of their own liminality, and just want a shower or a bowl of soup or a place to sleep for the night. They have a communal tent where they can crash, and even on a half-acre of land, are more or less kept separate from the rest of the camp. The remainder of the camp is for people who have to check in and are given the right to use the services; a sleeping bag in a tent, some meals, shower and so on for up to a year, but they are not permitted after that time to keep coming back. The idea behind that is that there are many people who are homeless - ON THE STREETS - who work, who want to have nothing to do with the drugs or the criminality of street poverty, and they need a "Hooverville of they own, ya know ya remember in the Depression? Them Hoovervilles. So they can get back to life?"

So the camp is part Hooverville and part emergency sleep station. Some of the people who run the camp live there and enforce rules about no drug use and other carryings on from which Dignity had suffered. These rules and the method for enforcing them, the serious planning and strategies for managing the site, have been explicitly measured against the failed and successful measures used at Dignity over the years. In this way, Dignity has contributed to the actual lived experience at the new site, and to the ongoing experimentation with how to govern liminal spaces. R2DTOO has zero tolerance on violations of the rules. Furthermore, they are a real thorn in the side of BIDs and the

city. R2DTOO has been putting the critical boots to the city and has networked with or created the networks for over a dozen activist groups from Washington to California. The city, itself, if you recall in chapter one, didn't know what to make of the group. Recently, the complaints of capital have grown stronger. While the city has been fining the group for what it calls zoning violations, R2DTOO has counter-sued, and a state court judge is taking 30 days to render a decision. Everyone connected to this event, and on either side of the debate recognizes that this means the judge is considering the constitutional grounds of the counter suit very seriously, and BIDS and conservative elements of the city are worried. They are so worried in fact that they offered the group an entire ten thousand square foot building for a year, paid for and serviced, as a compromise. The city had wanted to enforce its own shelter codes on the use of the building. Ibrahim rejected that. There were only certain conditions under which he would give up the visibility that R2DTOO had, and by that he quite clearly meant, "they all must be smoking some of the village drugs, man. We ain't givin' up our space and our fight so they can tell us how long and how to run ourselves."

So Ibrahim and his board rejected that offer outright. The next day, they had heard that the Judge had required yet more time, to look at the counter claim. A few hours after that, the city invited Ibrahim to look at several parcels of city land, removed from the thriving core, but well serviced and reasonably close (within walking distance) of missions, soup kitchens and the core, on which to build a larger, and *permanent emergency* sleep station.

Note the email below August 12, 2013 @ 6:39 pm:

Salaam Board,

[sic] I Ibrahim, am sending out this E-mail to inform you-all that an ultimatum was put tom us this morning by Commissioner Amanda Fritz. The Space next to the Bud Clark Commons was taken off the agenda from us and under the Broadway bridge was introduce as the new possible area for Right2Dreamtoo. We have until Noon tomorrow to tentative accept this offer. A few of us went to view this site. it has great potential, however it takes away from our visibility.

I thought on this offer and I have to take my direct Action Right2Survive mentality away. THAT is R2DTOO mission statement. Do we want R2DTOO to be publicity Action or an Rest Area to help Houseless People get sleep? This is my biggest question.

I also remember when Dignity Village was under the bridges. Do we have control around the Bridge like we did when were at Dignity. will people sleep down around us when we have No more room? will we pull the drugs and other negative that we will have to tell them WHAT leave, when we are fighting for people a place to sleep? These are some of the things that is going thru my mind.
Ma Salaam
Ib

He called me to talk about this decision.

Ibrahim says there are two levels to social critique.
"The first is the ideas what you all about. See that's how people know what you angry about. Like us, we are "Right to Survive", and R2DTOO is our camp. Like Dignity Village is two things too, it's the fight that Jack and us made a long time ago, on paper, a activist corporation, and then its also the camp, like it is also where they is at and how they live. But didn't forget who we are, we don't go acting like cuz we got a spot to sleep, that we don't have a message to fight for. We are looking into taking this spot, because we have to be clear. I got to be clear with myself, like you said to me, we are really about two things, helping people, live and sleep and not die on the street, and also we's about carrying this fight. I was worried that by givin up the spot in downtown we would lose that visibility, like they done to Dignity. They try to put it out of sight, out the way - out of mind, I guess you would say, but we have to work at the message harder, because we are about saving people that's gonna die on the street of we don't. See none of is afraid to work hard to carry the fight. This aint been easy here. It's not meant to be easy. Na aha. The village, they gone and forgot that. It's like Jack Tafari said, "Once you win your rights, you have to keep fighting for you rights." They all asleep up there."(This is from a phone conversation on August 19, 2013).

As of this writing, Ibrahim and his group are waiting for a general Building and Development Commission ruling on the site, but the two sides have agreed in principle to move his camp there. His dilemma has been the one I began with in this dissertation, which is what happens when critique displaces power. In this case, the claim has already been successful since it has occupied that central space for two years and, if this new site

goes through, it will be an even bigger success in terms of its just goal, which is to save homeless people. (Ibrahim and his group now use "houseless," instead of homeless). In terms of the other level of critique that is in part its ethos, it is in no way inverted, twisted or diverted by the city's plan to move the camp. The activists existed before the present camp happened, when there was no space, and the claim was purely mental - or symbolic - an attitude after all, to go back to Foucault, but one, which gained momentum, and in the same manner that Dignity had done 12 years earlier, managed to pounce on a legal loophole and establish itself in the city's housing debates. It did so in small protests, then gathering membership, then finding a loophole and establishing a counter-site, a base by which to establish its critique in spatial critiques that undergird the critiques of homeless. They put up tents, on space, and stood their ground. So this latest proposal to move R2DTOO to new site is a power push back, but not a rejection of the critique. It is in the end, recognition by the state that this group has power.

A week ago, Opportunity Village, in Eugene, passed its final clearance by Eugene's city council. Recognizing the difficulties of completely member run self-government, lessons they learned by examining Dignity Village's failed political structure, one of the conditions they imposed on themselves was a hybrid government that utilizes external board members to help keep balance in the village's affairs. They haven't officially opened yet, so I wait to comment further. These two camps demonstrate that critique of homelessness has at least two vectors. One is the immediate need to house people or the practical goals. The other is the empowerment that critical action gives to social critique to achieve these just ends in other sites and across societal levels of injustice. It seems counter intuitive to imagine it any other way, but that is what

has happened at Dignity Village. The hole it poked in power is still large enough for other activists to move beyond the limits of that model.

I mentioned earlier that this same week, a disgruntled ex-guest of Dignity Village, a well know Portland activist, Mary-Jo Pullen-Hughes, went to the city, the Police and the media to complain about the drugs. Most of the villagers wrote it off as a matter of little importance because that reputation is not new. The same day that Ibrahim announced his success, which was two days after her threat to "out" the village, the city of Portland told the Dignity Villagers that a new inspection was coming up. The city representatives came out to the site and did a walk through at Dignity Village. They pointed out 11 items on the new contract that are not being met by the village. These are items that have seemed moot, as I mentioned several times; just the sort of stuff that gets ignored in the village. With R2DTOO and Opportunity Village demonstrating a willingness to work with their cities, and these new complaints about the village, some villagers are pretty sure this inspection was a prelude to something pivotal for the village.

Mitch Grubic who was acting as an unofficial deputy Chair since Brad's impeachment, (he emceed, literally emceed the impeachment) emailed these items of concern and his replies to me on August 18, 2013: (Bolded print is the city's position; other print is Mitch's response).

[Sic] **(8 on the list): The contract states that: "Residents may not use, possess or share alcoholic beverages, or illegal drugs, controlled substances or prescription drugs without a medical prescription, on or at the Designated Campground or with in the Sunderland Recycling facility Residents may not allow guests to use, possess or share alcoholic beverages, illegal drugs, controlled substances or prescription drugs without a medical prescription at the designated Campground or within the Sunderland recycling facility. How is the board maintaining this rule?**

If they intend to call us on anything about breach of contract this would be the easiest one. The City of Portland puts our feet to the fire on this one.

I have had many conversations on this... I have concluded that any effort to help people of economic distress has to include addiction counseling.

Not sure there is any solution for Dignity Village as drugs are entrenched here. It would take a police action at this point and there would have to be a mass exodus. Pretty drastic measure, especially when you consider that we are all close to each other, we are family. Perhaps another solution could be mandatory drug testing.... I had plans at one time to start testing of council members and board. I still think that's a good idea.

(9 on the list) I would like to see your written rules that residents may not live at the campground for longer than 24 months after the date of December 1st, 2012. What processes did you have in place to identify those individuals living at the village on December 1st, 2012? Have you begun discussing a process for village leadership to determine when or if you would request an extension? (The first extensions wouldn't begin for a year, but hopefully you've begun talking about the "how").

Ah, and here it is. This is and was the most contentious part of the contract (obviously). The city of Portland has always been determined to get us to have a higher turnover rate. I can say, confidently, that the village would never have made it with limits like this. It is so against the idea of intentional community. How can we move on as a community when we are all suppose to move on to something new...it doesn't make sense.

My solution on this one is to change it to reflect the fact that we as a corporation want to move and need everyone to make that happen. Even without limits we have had a pretty good turn over rate. Since I have been here the waiting list has only been at 15 once and most times there is about 6 or 7.

What progress has been made toward demonstrating a sustainable board structure, such as broadening board membership to include adding former residents, donors or community supporters? As we've discussed, this would be very useful in assisting the village in long-term sustainability.

No brainer here, City of Portland wants to deal with the same people and build a relationship. Pretty clear.

Well, we are not doing well on this. I was taken out after serving a year...I might add I have been the first CEO to serve a year in a long while. Brad gets in and the village recalls him. Now Lisa Larson is serving a partial term, elections are in December. Not sure about this one, I would dislike to see some of these villagers hold control for too long. The village has had a real problem with recognizing corruption and then an unwillingness to do anything about it. There needs to be some real oversight in order to keep someone in place longer than 1 term.

We have made attempts to get an advisory Board with limited success, as with everything around here there needs to be more follow-through.

Ok Eric here you are, I want to write more but its late and I am tired, perhaps tomorrow if its not too late. And feel free to change stuff around and by all means repair my grammar and fix spelling as i have run out of patience to do so.

Regards Dude,

Mitchell Grubic

I will speak to this only briefly. The first item (sanctions against drug and alcohol use) is the oldest problem in the village and the least easy to fix. It very likely will be the one unfixable problem to afford the city the right to shut down the village altogether if it wants to. After that violation, all the others are moot, since it is a problem that is indefensible in both supportive and opposing camps. With regards to the second item, as far as turnover is concerned, what he calls turnover, is not what transitional housing calls turnover. Turning people out to the streets or insecure housing is not what we read in chapter six as part of transitional housing. Transitional means preparing people for and finding mainstream housing. And beyond that, those few people who did leave and found housing are a small percentage of those who tried. Less than 18%, I am told by the villagers, or four out of 19 applications, though I cannot verify this. The final item is telling. The city is telling the village that the neoliberal critique of housing has room for such places, such as it does in Eugene, such as it had when Brad made attempts to extend the board to external members. The village is being told straight-out, what Francisconi said in 2001 - "you need professional help." The city had always known the village would need professional help; it would need to open its shill of self-governance to governance by other means. Villagers are literally being asked to consider being governed another way. Foucault was in part correct when he said resistance has come to

mean asking how much do we want to be governed and in what way, not how can we do without government?

So the village has come to that point where it really must organize itself and act united. Insomuch as the concentrated and concerted activist spatializations of other housing critiques are being sanctioned and will save lives, the village needs to recognize that there is a body of critique that it helped to create, and which it can rejoin. It seems unlikely that this will happen. Ibrahim, and a few other local activists are meeting with leadership to discuss what the village can do to respond to the city contract and to fix itself up. The next few weeks will be critically important. There is no way to predict what will happen, except that if past trends are good indicators of future events, then nothing will happen; the village will continue to fester, and the city will watch as it decides if public opinion is for or against the village. In the end, if the city does send in the police and do what they call a "dog search," for drugs and drug dealers, it is likely that the village will experience a shut down and eviction, just like Tent City. In Toronto, because of a high rental vacancy rate, the city found apartments for the evictees. In Portland with a vacancy rate of less than 1% and rising rents, the average number of homeless people in street counts is likely to rise from 2000, to 2056, if the village closes.

Endnotes - Chapter Seven: Pages 486-533.

[1] Heterotopia it should be noted, was not coined by Foucault – its meaning derives from medicine and means an organ displaced from its proper place. But the term has been used by Foucault in several of his works and indeed becomes a central theme in his studies of knowledge production and order. Very simply put, his reliance on spatial metaphors in The Archeology of Knowledge, Truth and Juridical Forms, is seen as a bridge of sorts between his 1967, "Of Other Spaces" and "The Order of Things" (Topinka 2011). Topinka summarizes the major argument in these texts as one in which knowledge is seen as the result of a "clash of forces."

[2] Foucault speaks to the preoccupation of that generation of scholars with space. Speaking somewhat cynically he asserted that "our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein" (1). As such a problem for critical understanding was reconciling the temporal experience of life on the one hand, with its structural implications, or the way that such relations appear to be connected, " in short as a sort of configuration" (2).

[3] Today (1967) the site is defined by relations of proximity between points or elements..." (4). Modern space he argued was the one in which space identified the formation of relations among sites, conceived as individuals as units of a population, between organizations, even between non-organic locations, data bases and so on. Time he argued was one of the many distributive operations open to the elements that "spread out in space (5)[3].

[4] First, all cultures create heterotopias but in various forms. There are two general classes. Crisis heterotopias occur in primitive cultures where life events such as menstruation, or childbearing promote insecurity and doubt and require their isolation to places designated as sacred or pure. The second are what he calls heterotopias of deviation, in which "deviant" individuals, or those who fall out of normal participatory modes in society, are placed. Psychiatric hospitals, prisons and rest homes (I would argue and shelters) are examples. The second principle is that heterotopias can serve different functions at different times in the history of a society. The third principle is that a heterotopia can mimic or reflect the characteristics of several sites in one place, even sites that are incompatible in their own right. A theatrical stage, might reproduce war and home on the same "square" of representation; in my work, a shanty camp will reproduce poverty and democracy. The fourth principle is that heterotopias are most often linked to time; they function at full capacity when men arrive at a break with their traditional time; economic implosions or massive social displacements like war perhaps (6). Cemeteries are a clear example of this, where the individual crosses over into a "quasi-eternity in which her permanent lot is dissolution and disappearance"(6). While some heterotopias are devoted to the passage of time, others are completely temporal; fairs and events and festivals as examples.

[5] "I am thinking, for example, of the first wave of colonization in the seventeenth century, of the Puritan societies that the English had founded in America and that were absolutely perfect other places… The village was laid out according to a rigorous plan around a rectangular place at the foot of which was the church; on one side, there was the school; on the other, the cemetery-, and then, in front of the church, an avenue set out that another crossed at fight angles… each family had its little cabin along these two axes and thus the sign of Christ was exactly reproduced. Christianity marked the space and geography of the American world with its fundamental signs" (7).

[6] "Brothels and colonies are two extreme types of heterotopia, and if we think, after all, that the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself,

that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and that the ship is the heterotopia par excellence. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates" (1984: 7).

[7] In *The Order of Things*, (1970) Foucault speaks of the destabilizing effect of these concepts on language and ideas. "*Heterotopias* are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that, because they shatter or tangle common names, because they destroy 'syntax' in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to and also opposite one another) to 'hold together'"(Foucault 1994: xviii…). Yet, spatial heterotopias do a similar thing - they tend to destabilize the syntax or logical associations that make dominant symbolic imaginaries work through symbols, language and law by presenting alternatives.

[8] In assuming the logical coordination between spatializations of ideas, knowledge, language and living, as both temporally and spatially interconnected, the function of heterotopias to link with all other spaces, is measured by this tendency to "problematize the order that undergirds knowledge production" (Topinka 2010: 57). In its simplicity the position laid out by Foucault fits nicely into arguments that counter-hegemonic space exists and that resistance is not dead. If one brings the idea of heterotopia into his broader corpus, Foucault seems to be using the concept of heterotopias a way of envisioning the location of actors within systems of knowledge and power.

[9] Furthermore, even if we rely on just the physical space to which he referred, even Foucault cautions us that heterotopias are dynamic, contextually variant and may change functions to meet the needs of a society over time.

[10] In a phone call on August 18, 2013, Mitch Grubic admitted to me what we had all suspected; the impeachment was because other parties on the village wanted the same access to donations and other resources that Brad now was in charge of. Mitch said it was because Brad's drug use was the problem. That was half-truth at best. The council that replaced him, Lisa, Scot, Nancy and Mitch, are all invested heavily in the meth dealing that goes on the village.

Chapter Eight: Summary and Conclusions

At the start of this dissertation, I introduced the basic concepts and arguments that undergirded this research. There is an enormous problem with homelessness in the US, one that does not hide behind the classifications that various agencies use to define it. 147 million Americans live dangerously close to the official poverty line, and in a shrinking economy and with declining affordable housing, the number that migrates in and out of official poverty in Oregon especially is likely to keep edging upwards. Despite a long history of alternative uses of city space by rough sleepers, and community groups building ludic and environmentally favorable heterotopias, Portland in particular is a city whose policies towards street and chronic homelessness are erratic. While it was the first city to sanction a legal tent camp, Dignity Village, and is currently entertaining a second permanent camp, R2DTOO, they have recently amped up sit and stay laws, no camping laws, and the mayor has ordered police to arrest and remove homeless squatters from public buildings and property in the city.

A classic confrontation between capital and the homeless continues to play out in a quickly gentrifying city core, as a question of the willingness of city leadership to listen to the people on the streets, or to the business districts that are threatened by them. Dignity Village was moved as far from the city core as was literally possible. They were placed on the last piece of available land, next to the Columbia River, as a compromise between conservative critics of the village, and progressive supporters of intentional camps. The link between the conventional urban imaginary and the village, a transcendent and widely held criterion was the notion of democratic self-government. Other radical forms proposed by the HLF, which literally wanted to be free of legal or

city regulated limitations, were rejected by the city, largely because the HLF did not present a model for governance that suited critics of alternative spaces. HLF looked for a communal, organic political system, and to critics, perhaps rightly so, this suggested the randomness of the streets; something the city could not sanction. So Dignity Village, the animal we have been looking at in greater detail here, emerged as a sort of compromise between two extremes; capitalist rejection of subaltern use of space at one end of an imaginary continuum of debate, and this other commune style of radical egalitarianism. The compromise took the form of an agreement between an incorporated non-profit 501(c)(3) charitable corporation (Dignity Village Inc.) from that moment understood as a sanctioned, contracted, and self-governed, membership run democratic community, and officially licensed as a transitional emergency camp. In this context, *self-governed* has turned out to be dubious description of their democracy. All it has meant is that the villagers have managed the camp instead of the city, and have done a horrible job of it.

Despite ten years of internal debate between villagers and advisors over how to interpret the "transitional" requirements of such camps, the village must be understood, despite its symbolic value as an alternative form, to be a branch of the housing shelter system of Portland. Historically, each side, city and village, has been in denial about that. Still it has managed to squeak by with limited success in actually transitioning people to housing. Less than 18% of residents find secure stable housing when they leave and most end up on the streets. Over 80% return to homelessness.

The village also has a hard time administering its daily affairs and has a weak, if not totally corrupt political structure. A supporter of the villager said to me, "So what does that mean, I mean, look at the history of this whole country…?" And so I have in

fact done that. I said that the one transcendent value I could find in the village was this sense of the "American Way," a sense that freedom in poverty even, to stroke De Tocqueville's mantle, was superior to domination in abundance. Early on in my fieldwork at the village, under the shadows of Stars and Stripes flapping in the compost-dusted wind, I found reason to interrogate what democracy means in this kind of living space.

So I have shared a pivotal conversation I had with one of the ex-founders of the village that looked at the implications of self-run democratic governance in a place where people don't know how to govern. I have shown that democracy sounded like an empowering and valid organizing principle but in the village's case, it has led to powerful factions and a complete incapacity to administer village affairs. This tendency confirmed Michel's Law of Oligarchies, but in a small setting, which in turn disrupted Lipset's argument for better participative democracy in small groups. But the poverty of the village, the lack of any economic structure or production there, confirmed his argument that the potential of democracy is greater where there is strong economy. Derrida's *Rogues*, was discussed for its wonderful articulation of two important points. First the fact that freedom and sovereignty are logically opposed, but absolutely fundamental to how democracy works. I argued that the documents and forms, the contract and the language that gives the city the right over life or death of the village, to invoke Foucault, were evidence of this sovereignty and the tentative nature of freedom. I also want to suggest, that drugs have the impact they do in the village, not just because of how they make people feel, but because they are a resource that fuels a small economy in the village, and this in turn politically empowers some individuals over others. The freedom

of the haves, in this twisted case, is far greater than the have-nots. And so my original contention that the village is a replica of the very system that the HLF-Camp Dignity activists had wished to indict, that being democratic inequality, stands after this long and detailed analysis.

This is because of how emancipation was understood and then encoded in 2001. I discussed how the type of emancipation that social critique seeks is important for understanding the critical displacements that occur. Emancipation, as means to achieve freedom, or perhaps better said, following Isin (2008), Rose (1999) Dean (2010) and several others, as a way of distinguishing active and activist citizens, radical and resistant political action, has two vectors: the first seeks to change the system that creates inequality and the second seeks to increase a group or an actor's participation and benefit from within it. Dignity Village, in the final analysis, has gone through to another stage, a sort of anti-citizen stage, if that is possible. The act, understood as a rupture with habitus and practice was short-lived, and for a few years, as the community built it, villagers were active citizens pursuing this transcendent if not misguided freedom as American citizens. Currently, they are not doing this. In fact for a few years now, the village has all but given up on dreams, and sunk into a den of drug - induced despair. It had gone from being a transitional space designed to moderate and facilitate the movement of liminal people traumatized and beaten up by homelessness, and forced into an inter-structural role, to being one that suspends them there in what I have called perpetual liminality, a between-world.

I discussed liminality in detail in several places. I also suggested that critique need to be understood for its temporal qualities as it shifts and morphs over time. I

reiterate, that when we talk of critique, we must comprehend the liminal or transitional experience of subjects becoming political. In this light, the stagnation of the village right now might only mean that critique is stalled, and if this is so, the village might have another chance, if the people can become politically motivated. I made the suggestion that the mundane critiques that occur between villagers are in part anticipated by the city as an indirect form of creating this liminal space, one which is more easily controlled than a thriving activist community. That means that the city understood how difficult mere survival would come to be under the conditions they gave the community, and as some of the discussions you read suggested, the city is just sitting back and waiting for the village to fail.

I have argued that homelessness is a world of liminality and poverty that requires people to spend so much time and energy on mundane critique – often of others – or directed towards others in the kind of essentially critical capacity granted to actors by Boltanski et al, that pragmatic attachments to social critique seem light years away. When interpersonal conflicts and scraping together a few dollars to get high or feed yourself occupy most of your time, there is little room for activism. People can be angry at the system, they can recognize their poverty for the structural violence it represents, but for villagers, isolated on a tarmac with few resources and few, if any social ties outside the gate, keeping the activist ferment alive is nearly impossible. And the irony is that activism is what could empower this community with the city and supporters and bring meaning to villagers in their personal lives. The transitional capacity of the village absolutely depends on this structural union between the marginal world of homelessness and the resources and roles of the conventional world. However, the village does not act

towards this alignment. It does not fight, as other members of democracy do, for their piece of the pie outside of their community. The reason I have seen fit to think of this as a world, is precisely because that is how the villagers see it. Earlier John Boy and Shorty echoed many of the comments made by villagers that attest to the loss of any experiential horizon beyond the gates. The village fixes the psychological stuff, and at the same time it "becomes everything." There can be neither social critique nor any fight for democracy within the gates alone. Ibrahim's most recent success, R2DTOO, is a collective effort of homeless people, housed advocates and his activist group Right To Dream, and they are making changes, saving lives and poking holes in neoliberalism's own critique of housing policy. Opportunity Village is doing the same, and each of these movements is in ways related to the Dignity activists, who started it all in 2001. So the social critique that Dignity activists started is not dead. It has shifted locations.

I have been asking throughout this dissertation what is the critical capacity of villager under these conditions? Given that the village is enveloped by the legal and encoded rule of the city, what does being critical mean for them? In the previous discussion with Ibrahim, (in chapter seven) we decided that critique has two levels that he had to think about when deciding on accepting the city's offer for a new location: he could give up the highly visible and controversial R2DTOO site in downtown, a site that provoked critique from all corners of the world, which is to say that it had people debating about how to house the homeless in alternative ways, or he could accept the new site, help more people stay warm and safe and give up the site that just reeked of critical capacity because of its visibility. In other words, he had to decide what was more important, saving people now, tomorrow, and this year, or contributing to the collective

social critique on housing. In the end, he came to understand, that the ethical call is to save lives, but the moral one is to continue fighting for rights. He too had almost forgotten how hard it is to fight for your rights from the margins. This was and is Dignity's dilemma. On the one hand it serves a basic and inadequate shelter, so people don't necessarily die – except people do die there and there have been two cases in the two years when I was working there when that was because of addiction. On the other hand, it must find ways to be engaged in the justification that gave it life, and that was an argument for the rights of the homeless. So I have wondered what it means to be critical. I have thought of critical attitude at many levels. One was my own eye towards addiction, poverty and homelessness. And so I considered a reflexive, critical and pragmatic approach as the best way to understand how different critical approaches work together in villagers' deliberations of to produce this lack of action. I suggested that before addressing critical approaches, I should explain my orientation towards the subject.

I examined how reflexive and critical forms of ethnography unite with pragmatism in a PEOC. I theorized fieldwork as an act of investigation, and also as a way to be critical in the sense of a social critique, which I defined as a set of attitudes and practical orientations towards matters of social justice. Of course this meant I needed to show how ethnography, critical ethnography, reflexive authority and pragmatism could be unified in a video supported and participant observational approach. With critical and ethnographic elements aligned within a pragmatic vision, I suggested ways that video extends ethnographic presence in the four ways that Sanjek suggested, but mostly by extending field moments to the authority of all participants, and also by extending authority in a temporal sense, allowing for revisitation and re-inscription of meaning by

participants. In this sense, even though I have been looking at how villagers' pragmatic deliberations affect how critical attitudes and capacity happen in the village, I have shown without a doubt that this research has been part of the creation of those attitudes, even when my "authority" was rejected outright.

As part of the autoethnographic and reflexive requirement of PEOC, I gave a fairly detailed account of my addictions, homelessness and my stint in rehab. These experiences fuelled the moral call and weight of this research, and gave me first hand insights into the village. I argued for the researcher to be thought of as a resource in his work, and frankly, this dissertation is full of examples where I have been engaged by the Portland housing community for those resources. My documentary studies at Tent City and of the housing services introduced to Toronto in the mid 2000's, led me to ask how different types of housing contribute to self-worth and critical attitudes. I looked at issues of misrepresentation and how the ethical and moral position I now take are related to the failures of others in the past to meet these demands. The streets of Toronto, and then Tent City were my first encounters with community organizers and provoked me to think of locality-based ethnography as a type of ethnographic community organizing. In the case of the village, it has certainly come to feel this way, especially of late, as the last chapter has shown well, I think.

Early literature reviewed a tendency to categorize the poor on the groundwork laid down by Lewis' *Culture of Poverty* premise. I rejected elements of this, especially his idea of psychiatric interventionist policies over economically redistributive ones, on the basis that the former are easier to achieve. They each suggested a certain kind of structural violence for which Bourgois, from Bourideu, had rightly criticized Lewis.

Bourgois' recognition that looking at community, and intentional camps as such as signs of this noble actioning of needs by the homeless was not in fact a testimony to the resilience of people or the realness of freedom, but of our complete abandonment of social responsibility under neoliberalism, was an important insight to me. In this frame, the village and intentional camps are better than the streets, but the actions of people fighting for camps and signing contracts to self-govern in poverty caters to a certain kind of evil after all, and the tendency, one to which I was drawn in the past, to see these spaces as positive examples, blinded me to the insidious form of governmentality and domination they belied. Beyond this, the most important part of that early ethnographic experience was to try understand the discourses that produce spaces such as this, and attitudes toward the poor, and to this end, I interrogated a critical approach to understanding the village.

It had seemed at first, and in some ways I still hold, that governmentality is a fruitful way for understanding the critical capacity of villagers. But there were weaknesses in this model, and in fact, amongst all the five major approaches that interest me, so I then went on to describe what these were and how one might expect to find expressions of these in the village. I addressed Latour's (2004) critique of critique. I explained PEOC could make critique relevant again not by mapping out, but listening to how villagers understand their critical assemblages and by sharing the pragmatic deliberations as conversations in this work. These conversations, reproduced as excerpts from my monograph, as transcripts from previously un-transcribed video, and from newly recorded interactions, express the mediations of actants in critical assemblages and there

is pragmatic interaction of an essentially critical and important nature, the structure of which is less important to me than its emancipatory outcomes.

I gave a cursory introduction to the philosophical roots of critique. These were critical dogmatism, transcendental critique and deconstructionism. I suggested very simply how homeless camps and people might be framed in these lenses. I then discussed Critical Theory (Frankfurt School), Critical Sociology (Bourdieu), Critical Realism (Bhaskar/Archer), Genealogical Critique (Foucault) and Pragmatic Sociology of Critique (Boltanski et al), as five basic schools of critical sociological thought. Critical approaches were distinguished by where the power to be critical originated. In Critical Theory, Critical Sociology and Critical Realism, actors are asked to form political identities on the basis of external, often transcendental notions of truth that are produced in entirely exterior and objective structures of reality. In Foucault's genealogical critique, and Pragmatic Sociology of Critique, power is truth, reality is socially constructed so objectively impossible, and the basic essence of domination is power. I argued that if we look, following Soja, at homelessness or the village as a more than mental and physical space with myriad possibilities, all of these critical approaches make some sense. Being overly simple here, let me suggest: Critical Theory can direct us to see how the villagers are completely duped into imagining their poverty as freedom: Critical Sociology directs us to look at how the villagers accept limbo as a constituent part of the habitus of their poverty, and to therefore not to imagine the various ways they might transcend it: Critical Realism understood through Archer's internal conversation, directs us to look at how material and emotional experience contributes to the way actors uniquely make sense of real but unobservable structures.

They have weaknesses as well. To be simple once again: Critical theory posits a grand social transformation on the basis of such emancipatory information, but this has not happened, and even when such societal level transformations against capital have been attempted, the results have been generally more repressive models of social structure: Critical Sociology really clamps down on actors to free themselves of habitus, and sees little value in common mundane critique, the kind of critical attitude that I think is very powerful in the village, but for all the wrong reasons; Critical Realism posits a real structure but says it is unknowable, fails to articulate how it is that socially transformative action might take place, and perhaps most in contradiction to my observations, Archer posits categories of conversational types, whereas I have been witness to a variety of internal conversations within the participants I studied which I attribute to their liminality.

I treated Foucault and Boltanski separately. Foucault's governmentality is really my central organizing principle, even though he would argue it is not a foundational principle. Dean has said there is no single governmentality paradigm. In this sense, governmentality is open to range of technologies that regimes of government use to produce self-governing citizens. I spoke about the inherent contradiction of freedom and domination earlier, but the key reason I entertain governmentality as way of understanding the village, is not because of how it works per se, but for how it does not.

Using Dean's (2010) *Analytics of Government* I showed how the codification of the village in contracts, assessments, by-laws, articles of incorporation and other "forms" were discursive attempts by power to stem the tactical displacement that the original claim represented. Where pragmatic sociology of critique had showed that governance

has the ability to incorporate critique into its management strategies, these forms and contracts established the city's sovereignty over the village, rather than suggesting that the critique had been incorporated. Since the village does not appear in the official language of the city, nor do any of the villages appear in the official housing strategies of their respective cities, this is not a case where institutions have incorporated technique, but is evidence of a displacement still playing out.

Now clearly in Dignity Village, it seems that the play is almost dead, and that the mantle of critique has been picked up by R2DTOO, Opportunity Village and other camps currently fighting for the right to be. But, because of how rules and codes of conduct delineate the acceptable action of villagers, and how codes and laws govern the use of the space, I suggest that in the village, we are watching a certain temporal closure to what happens when critique displaces power. While the rules and regulations of the community suggest a stable and well-organized community, the reality is that its freedom has always been crafted by the neoliberal discourse that sees such places as shelters, and the recent events I mentioned in chapter six, simply demonstrate that Larsen was correct, " it takes time to see. " In this case, the city is now poised to enforce the discourse of transitional housing on the village, or end it altogether.

As I said, PEOC helps to explain the space opened up by the divergence between intended and actual conduct, and the seemingly endless experimentation with critical attitudes in liminal spaces. In light of recent events, I see a union of Foucault and Boltanski. In ways, the critical displacement has moved onto other sites that were spawned as it were from Dignity's emergence and legacy. These new sites ride the critical ripple the village made just as they surely are producing their own. If the city

does move in to manage the village outright then this is a good indication of critique being incorporated into the managerial strategies of the state, and so the critical displacement of power, and the incorporative tendencies of institutions, unite the two approaches at least at this very fuzzy level. I argued that I thought Boltanski's critique of Foucault as too power-centered was silly; the essential matter of domination is power, and so regardless of the form, the critique boils down to power. So I have chosen, and I know this is an abstraction that requires more thought, but I have chosen to see this as a bridge rather than a schism between these two approaches. I have listed a number of faults and strengths of these approaches earlier, and I am not going to reiterate them here. However, one area where all these approaches tend to falter is on the problem of liminal space and liminality.

Bourdieu, because of his cultural approach to habitus and fields, deals with liminality in the sense that he understands ritual practice to be the mechanism that facilitates liminal transitions. What about cultures or worlds defined by liminality, between-worlds? In terms of spaces, or fields of liminality, if one will, none of these approaches is very useful. So I argued as well, that homelessness is under-theorized for its liminal qualities, because ambiguity is difficult. Understood as between-worlds, shantytowns and tent camps are relatively new to our disciplines, and to these modes of analysis, because the shantytown disappeared as a western phenomenon at the end of the 1930s. Social Sciences, all of the social sciences really explode after the Second World War and critical reflexive approaches only since the 1980's so, it is little wonder that western intentional camps should be under-theorized. Most of all, these camps require an entirely new lexicon and theoretical framework open to diversity that brings out the qualities they

produce, instead of trying to empirically fit such concentrated spatializations of poverty into existing Firstspace-Secondspace bicameralisms.

So I spoke about space. I talked about Wright and Castoriadis and ideas about the streets, and of Lefebvre and representational spaces, and of Foucault and heterotopias. And since the village seems to have qualities of the street, of resistance and counter-hegemonic idealism, I then talked about "thirding" as a way to look at the village and to understand the number of opinions we read in chapter six especially abut what the village represents and how to fix it. I explained very early on that the claim made by activists was for space, and so any understanding of the critique or the applicability of critique to these places, Tent City, and especially Dignity Village, must imbricate with spatial critique. Looking at the comments made by villagers in the transcripts I presented in chapter seven, it seems to me that space is socially constructed, and that the critique of Dignity Village by the villagers themselves is a highly contested territory that goes no where. The reason for this is the dirge that Brad spoke to. It's the human condition produced by living in poverty and thinking that such a life is a just situation. It's the presence of the mental or social critique that Ibrahim and I mentioned, but which, in the village exists only at the mental, and never in the physical or actual level of experience. The dynamic that keeps critical actors stuck in mundane conflicts and justifications is the same one that keeps the factions in power; democracy. Democracy is a liminal experience. It is always as yet to come. It is as Jack Tafari and Ibrahim said, based on a liberty that once obtained must be fought for continuously.

With camps increasingly making the news as local responses and experimental attempts at helping homeless people, there is room for much more work. In all of these

communities, activists, advocates, scholars and journalists and a wary public are watching and advising. The continuum of debate is beginning to be informed and vetted by more than just journalists and activists, and the results are not necessarily favorable to intentional communities. There are two frames that seem important to me going forward. The first is to understand these camps as places that save lives. The second is to understand how embracing these unofficial sites might provide more than that temporary life saving capacity. Resourced better and with assisted management, even Dignity Village could serve the purpose it had envisioned. While Opportunity Village, and R2DTOO move in a cooperative direction with city management, it is possible that official language might include these places in their short-term strategies to end homelessness. In this case, those of us who have spent time agonizing with our friends in the camps where we do our work, have every right to inform the process.

I am in favour of ambitious housing and supports for the homeless, especially for those with long term homelessness. It is by now understood and accepted that providing housing first alleviates the anxiety disorders associated with homelessness, and also that with proper professional, educational, medical and psychiatric supports, newly housed individuals can learn to manage conventional spaces (Tsemberis 1994; WoodGreen 2005; City of Portland 2009, 2010; Weissman 2010; EHAC 2008, 2011; Evans 2012; Brown 2011; Latimer et al (forthcoming); CMHC 2012; Chez Soi - Voir Les Voix web resource 2013;). Brown (2011) cites figures in Toronto that say outdoor homelessness dropped by over 50% since 2006 when programs such as First Step to Homes and other Housing First initiatives received funding. Evans (2012) has shown that Housing First has similarly positive results in rural and urban settings in central US states. Even in Portland, where

the numbers of street people (outdoor homelessness) remain higher than national levels, rapid rehousing of chronically homeless people (usually disabled in mental or physical ways), veterans and families, the early targets of Opening Doors, has been reduced significantly (PHB 2012; NAEH 2013). I will not argue against secure, safe and stable housing. I originally argued that poor access and lack of affordability of housing *is the cause* of homelessness. While Toronto seems to be a doing better job of getting people off the streets, Portland still suffers as do many US cities with this growing street problem. As our friend the journalist said in chapter one, it's not because of the weather that the homeless come to Portland. It is because of a certain permissive attitude within the symbolic imaginary that looks at the use of space in a number of ways that the traditional bicameral distinction between first and second space does not anticipate. Still, just as he wrote of this permissiveness, he was speaking in the language of intolerance, so both attitudes must exist.

As recently as August 2013, Portland's Mayor Hales announced an escalation of police evictions of squatters and homeless campers in the downtown area, because they had become overcrowded and dangerous to the public. "This Is Not About Homelessness… It's About Lawlessness," he said to interviewers (That was the headline).[1] Homeless people are in some cases, much bolder than they have been in the past. Understanding that their lives are "street" lives, they have no choice but to be in public. The image of the street homeless person is really shaking up the debates about housing. The problem for policy makers and the critique of homelessness is not "does housing work?" We know housing works. The problem is that regardless of current funding, history has shown that there is never enough money spent to house everyone

who needs it, and also, the numbers of newly homeless people keep rising across the U.S. adding to the numbers of chronically unhoused. Even though Portland, Seattle, Ashland and others are entering into NPO led intentional community projects, none of these are part of the official discourse on homelessness.

There is just not enough evidence or experience to articulate what these places mean, or how life is experienced there, to rationalize them to a public or a state funding system that looks for measures of success and failure to make sense of strategies. Israel Bayer, Street Roots publisher and activist, Commissioner Sten, and others each with different political views, agree that intentional homeless communities will never be officially recognized as parts of housing strategies, even if they *are officially* licensed communities for the homeless. Neoliberal governance would not allow that use into its own critique of governance because that would be tantamount to admitting a failure to govern well. Following Boltanski and Chiapello (2005), I suggest that currently, these hybrid shelter forms of the village are a step towards incorporating critique into the informal housing strategies of cities. So they try to create in these spaces, the capacities to be rationalized. If the village would run as the city wanted; if they followed the codes and rules - if they transitioned people back to the world in a positive way instead of to culverts and vans, then they might be recognized as legitimate parts of the plan.

With the documents in place, governmentality studies would tell us, the failure of the village to self-govern, is not inherent to the rules and technologies of governing, but to results from the failure of the villagers to govern. I would suggest that there is a way to link these perspectives by arguing that critical displacement leading to a new from of power becoming "power," has reached a point where the spatialization of the critique is

being tinkered with, in order for an eventual incorporation into the institutional framework surrounding homelessness. But this as David Samson suggested back in chapter 5 (pages: 361-367) might mean identifying the needs of the homeless first before the needs of governance. These models might work, if we understood better how they might meet real life needs of homeless people, understood as a diverse and heterogeneous population. Once again, if we know what to *expect from* such spaces, instead of defining *how to be in certain spaces*, the success rate might be much higher.

I am in favor of helping people get into supported housing. For me it is vital to the health of communities. However in a nation that has spent $700 billion annually on defense since 2001, and only $2 billion annually in the same time on housing, this is not going to happen.[2] Even with a current boost to 5.3 billion dollars, there is no immediate long-term solution in sight. I want to be clear, that I would very much like to see the communal, sustainable and green community that intentional camps often idealize, but rarely achieve. I doubt they are feasible in the context of abject poverty and trauma that has come to define literal homelessness and Dignity Village. It might be that the camps we have talked about are, like democracy, as yet to come. Dignity Village has contributed to this emergence, and it is up those of us who are committed to understanding how such places work to help keep the critique alive. A key to understanding the critical capacity of Dignity Village and other intentional communities stems from the community studies perspective we discussed earlier; this simply that communities are interconnected in various ways regardless of where they are located and how they understand themselves. Just as relations between people provide for potentially powerful experiences, so too are the ties between communities empowering for locality based social critiques. Dignity

Village has forgotten the importance of maintaining these ties, and this is something it must work on immediately.

Last words: Despite the increased tolerance for intentional camps in some cases, it is too soon to say that the grass roots critique of housing represented by intentional communities that we have discussed here, has been incorporated into official strategies to end homelessness. Until that language appears in Ten-Year Plans, such places will always be on the discursive and critical margins of cities. It is fair to say that social critique, understood finally as an organized attitude towards matters of social justice does play a role in what we see and can experience when we look at the spaces that homeless Oregonians are now colonizing. Social critique is just very low on the agendas of Dignity Villagers, but the village constitutes a point on that continuum of debate regardless of what villagers think. It is also clear that any chance of self-determination for these villages is a matter of keeping the critique alive. Liminality does not have to be perpetual. When one considers the diverse range of attitudes, strategies, skills and attributes that villagers present when asked to confront a problem, then critical capacity merely needs the skilled human facilitators and leaders to render critique meaningful again and to empower villagers. It boils down to a question of strong leadership not only to keep village affairs in order, but also to guide the village's collective capacity in action directed towards displacing the city and other opposing powers. Power is relational. As Ibrahim said, they have to fight to keep their freedom. Other camps are fighting, R2DTOO, Opportunity Village, but it remains to be seen if they can enter operating agreements with city governance that transcends the liminality created for Dignity

Village. These camps do not want to become Dignity Villages, put out and forgotten, and then subsumed into some wretched branch of an unofficial shelter system.

Endnotes - Conclusions: Pages 536-555.

[1] Thursday August 8 2013 in the *Portland Mercury*: http://blogtown.portlandmercury.com/BlogtownPDX/archives/2013/08/08/this-is-not-about-homelessness-mayor-hales-says-its-about-lawlessness.

[2] Take for example, that according to Washington Post the US spent between 600 and 700 billion a year since 2001 on defense. (http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/01/07/everything-chuck-hagel-needs-to-know-about-the-defense-budget-in-charts/)

"In 2013-2014, Obama will spend over 5.3 billion, which is the most any regime has ever spent on homelessness. It is still less than .007% of that figure. Note the following statement from Obama's office "Chair and Vice-Chair of the United States Interagency Council on Homelessness, we are pleased to announce that President Obama's Fiscal Year 2014 Budget demonstrates an unwavering commitment to the goals of *Opening Doors*. Overall, the President's Budget requests $5.3 billion in homeless programs across all federal agencies.

Over the last three years, with President Obama's leadership and strong partnerships among federal agencies, and with states and local communities, we have implemented *Opening Doors* by helping communities reduce the number of Veterans who experience homelessness by 18 percent and the number of Americans who experience chronic homelessness by 10 percent. We've also demonstrated that smart, targeted investments can reduce homelessness - even in the wake of a historic recession. This year's Budget strengthens our investment in targeted homelessness programs by 21.1 percent over fiscal year 2012 enacted levels and provides our communities more of the resources they need to become stronger, healthier, and more productive by preventing and ending homelessness.

This Administration is dedicated to ensuring that our Nation's Veterans, families, children, and all who suffer chronic homelessness have a safe, stable place to call home. We are investing in responsible solutions that not only reduce homelessness, but also strengthen our communities by promoting stronger educational outcomes and reducing the taxpayer burden of preventable and costly emergency care and institutional services.

Thank you for your partnership in this important effort. We hope you will join us to accelerate the pace of our efforts to achieve the goals of *Opening Doors*." http://archive.constantcontact.com/fs197/1011269667270/archive/1113075692898.html

Bibliography

Abelson, Elaine. 2003. "Women who have no men to work for them: gender and Homelessness in the Great Depression." *Feminist Studies,* vol. 29. No. 1:104-127.

Acciaioli, Greg. 1997. "Innocence Lost: Evaluating an Experimental Era in Ethnographic Film." *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 8, No. 2: 210-226.

Adorno, Theodor. 1985. "The Sociology of Knowledge and Its Consciousness." Andrew Arato and Gebhardt, Eike, eds. *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader pp*. 452-466.

Adorno, Theodor W. 2007. *Negative Dialectics*. Translated by E. B. Ashton New York: Continuum.

Albert, Hans. 1985. *Treatise on Critical Reason*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Alcoholics Anonymous. (Anon.) 2001[1936]. *Alcoholics Anonymous - The Big Book*. New York: AA World Services.

Alinsky, Saul D. 1971. *Rules for Radicals: A pragmatic primer for realistic radicals*. New York: Vintage Books.

Allsop, Kenneth. 1967. *Hard Travelin' The Hobo and His History*. London: Pimlico.

Althusser, Louis & Étienne Balibar. 1998. *Reading Capital*. Translated by Ben Brewster London: Verso.

Amicht-Quinn, Regina, Maureen Junker Kerry and Elsa Tamez, Eds. 2003. *The Discourse on Human Dignity*. London: Concilium, SCM.

Amit, Vered. (Ed.) 2000. *Constructing the Field: Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World*. London and New York: Routledge.

Anderson, Nels. 1923. The Hobo*: The Sociology Of The Homeless Man*. Chicago: Phoenix Books.

Anderson, Nels. 1975. *The American Hobo, an autobiography*. Netherlands, Leiden: E. J Brill.

Apel, Karl-Otto. 1976. 'The Transcendental Conception of Language-communication and the Idea of a First Philosophy: Towards a Critical Reconstruction of the History of Philosophy in the Light of Language Philosophy', in H. Parret (ed.), History of Linguistic Thought and Contemporary Linguistics, De Gruyter, Berlin: pp. 32–61.

Apel. Karl-Otto. 1980. *Towards a Transformation of Philosophy*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Archer, Margaret. 1988. *Culture and Agency. The Place of Culture in Social Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, Margaret. 1995. *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, Margaret. 2000. *Being Human. The Problem of Agency*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, Margaret. 2003. *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Arendt, Hannah. 1977. *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Arendt, Hannah. 1998. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Arendt, Hannah 1990 [1965]. *On Revolution.* New York: Penguin Books.

Arhem, Kaj. 1993. "Millennium Among the Makuna: An Anthropological Film Adventure in the Northwest Amazon." *Anthropology Today*, Jun., Vol. 9, No. 3: 3-8.

Aristotle 1984. *The Complete Works*. Ed. By Jonathan Barnes. Bollingen: Princeton University Press.

Asch, Timothy, John Marshall; and, Peter Spier. 1973. "Ethnographic Film: Structure and Function." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 2: 179-187.

Ashenden, Samantha and David Owen Ed. 1999. *Foucault Contra Habermas*. London: Sage.

Atkinson, Paul, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont, and John and Lyn Lofland. 2007. *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage.

Aull-Davis, Charlotte. 1999. *Reflexive Ethnography – a guide to researching selves and others*. London: Routledge.

Austin, John Langshaw. 1962. "*How to Do Things with Words*." Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Badiou, Alain. 2001. *Ethics, an essay on the Understanding of Evil*. London: Verso.

Bahr, Howard. M. 1968. Homelessness and Disaffiliation. New York: Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research.

Bahr, Howard, M. 1973. *Skid Row. An Introduction to Disaffiliation*. New York: Oxford University Press,

Bahr, Howard, M. and Theodore Caplow. 1973. *Old Men Drunk and Sober*. New York: New York University Press.

Bailey, Ron. 1973. *The Squatters*. Suffolk: penguin.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1981. The Dialogic Imagination trans, C. Emerson and M. Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1984. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* trans. C. Emersen and W, Booth. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press,.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1986a [1979]. Toward a methodology in the human sciences. In Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech genres and other late essays* (transl. by V. McGhee, Ed. By C. Emerson & M. Holquist, (159-172). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1986b [1979]. From notes made on 1970-71. In Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech genres and other late essays* (transl. by V. McGhee, ed. by C. Emerson & M. Holquist, (132-158). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1986c [1979]. The problem of text in linguistics, philology, and the human sciences: An experiment in philosophical analysis. In Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech genres and other late essays* (transl. by V. McGhee, ed. by C. Emerson & M. Holquist, (103-131). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1990a [1979]. Author and hero in aesthetic activity. In Mikhail Bakhtin, *Art and answerability: Early philosophical essays* (transl. by V. Liapunov & K. Brostrom, ed. by M. Holquist & V. Liapunov, (.4-256). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1990a [1975]. Supplement: The problem of content, material, and form in verbal art. In Mikhail Bakhtin, *Art and answerability: Early philosophical essays* (transl. by V. Liapunov & K. Brostrom, ed. by M. Holquist & V. Liapunov, (257-326). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1990. *Art and Answerability*. Ed. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov. Trans. Vadim Liapunov and Kenneth Brostrom. University of Texas Press, Austin. [Written 1919–1924, published 1974-1979].

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1993. *Toward a Philosophy of the Act,* Trans. Vadim Liapunov. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Balikci, Asen. 1989. "Anthropology, Film and the Arctic Peoples." *Anthropology Today*, Apr., Vol. 5, No. 2: 4-10.

Banks, Marcus. 2001. *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London: Sage.

Banks, Marcus, and Morphy, Howard, Eds. 1997. *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Barbalet, Jack. 1988. *Citizenship: Rights, Struggle and Class Inequality*. London: Open University Press.

Barbalet, Jack. 2009. Pragmatism and Symbolic Interactionism in Turner, Bryan, S. Ed. 2009. *Social Theory*. Pp. 199-218. Boston: Wiley-Blackwell.

Barbash, Ilisa. and Lucien Taylor. 1997. *Cross-cultural Filmmaking: A Handbook for Making Documentary and Ethnographic Films and Videos*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Barker, Jonathan 1999. *Street-Level Democracy: Political Settings at the Margins of Global Power*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Between the Lines and Bloomfield, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Barthes, Roland. 1982. *Camera Lucinda: Reflections on Photography*. Translated by R. Howard. London: Jonathan Cape.

Barthes, Roland. 1989. *Mythologies*. New York: The Noonday Press.

Basaure, Mauro. 2011. "An interview with Luc Boltanski: Criticism and the expansion of knowledge." European Journal of Social Theory 2011 14: 361.

Bayat, Asef. 1994. "Squatters and the State: Back Street Politics in the Islamic Republic. *Middle East Report*, No. 191 Nov. – Dec. 1994.10-14.

Bayat, Asef. 2010. *Life As Politics*. Stanford University Press: Stanford.

Beck, Ulrich 1992. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.

Beck, Ulrich and Johannes Willms. 2004. *Conversations with Ulrich Beck*. Cambridge: Polity.

Beck, Ulrich & Giddens, Anthony & Lash, Scott. 1994. *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity.

Becker, Howard. *1963. The Outsiders* Free Press, New York.

Becker, Howard. 2007. "How we deal with the people we study: 'The Last Seminar' revisited," pp. 26–36 in David Downes, et al. Eds. *Crime, Social Control and Human Rights,* Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Behar, Ruth 1995. And Gordon D. A. 1995. *Women Writing Culture*. Berkeley: university of California Press.

Benhabib, Seyla. 1992. *Situating the self: gender, community and postmodernism in contemporary ethics*. New York: Routledge,

Benhabib, Seyla. 1986. Critique. Norm, Utopia. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bennet, Jonathan. F. 1995. *The Act itself*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Berger, Peter. L. ed. 1999. *The Desecularization of the World*, William B Eerdmans Publishing Co. Michigan.

Berger, Peter. L. and Luckmann, Thomas. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality – a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Anchor.

Bergson, Henry. 1911. *Creative Evolution* Trans. A Mitchell. Modern Library, New York.

Bergson, Henry. 2001. Time and Free Will: *An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness* trans. F. L. Pogson. New York: Dover.

Best, Gary Dean. 1991. *Pride, Prejudice, and Politics: Roosevelt Versus Recovery, 1933–1938* New York: Praeger.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/0275935248

Best, Gary Dean. 1993. *The Nickel and Dime Decade: American Popular Culture during the 1930s*. New York: Praeger.

Bhargava, Deepak. 2012. "Social Justice Movements in a Liminal Age." *Poverty and Race*. VOL 21, No. 3: 1-14.

Bhaskar, Roy. 1975. A Realist Theory of Science. Leeds: Leeds Books.

Bhaskar, Roy. 1979. The Possibility of Naturalism. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Biesta, Gert, J. J., and Stams, Geert, Jan, J. M. 2001. "Critical thinking and the Question of Critique: Some Lessons from Deconstruction."

Biesta, Gert. J.J.: 1995, 'Postmodernism and the Re-politicization of Education', Interchange 26, 161–183. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. 20: 57–74, 2001.

Birth, Kevin. 2008. "The creation of coevalness and the danger of homochronism." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. 14:3-20.

Bishop-Stahl, Shaughnessy. 2004. Down to This. Squalor and Splendour in a Big City Shantytown. Toronto: Vintage.

Biswas-Diener, Robert and Ed Diener 2006. "The Subjective Well-Being of the Homeless, and Lessons for Happiness." *Social Indicators Research*. Vol. 76, No. 2 (Apr., 2006): 185-205.

Blau, Joel. 1992. *The Visible Poor: Homelessness in The United States* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blok, Anders and Torben Jensen. 2011. *Bruno Latour: hybrid thoughts in a hybrid world*. New Work: Routledge.

Blokker, Paul. 2011. "Introduction. Pragmatic Sociology: Theoretical Evolvement and Empirical Application." *European Journal of Social Theory*. VOL 14(3): 251-261.

Blokker, Paul and Brighenti, Andrea. 2011. "Politics between justification and defiance." *European Journal of Social Theory* 000(00) 1–18.

Blum, Alan. 2003. *The Imaginative Structure of the City*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.

Blumer, Herbert. 1969. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

Boas, Franz. 1928. *Anthropology and modern life*. New York: Norton.

Boas, Franz. 1928. *The mind of a primitive man*. New York: Macmillan.

Bogue, Donald, J. 1961. *The Homelessness Men on Skid Row*. Chicago: Tenants Relocation Bureau: City Of Chicago.

Bogue, Donald, J. 1963. *Skid Row in American Cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bohman, James. 1991. *New Philosophies of Social Science: Problems of Indeterminacy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Bohman, James. 1998. 'Theories, practices, and pluralism: A pragmatic interpretation of critical social science'. Philosophy of the Social Sciences 29(4): 459-80.

Bohman, James. 2011. 'Methodological and political pluralism: Democracy, pragmatism

and critical theory', pp. 149-59 in G. Delanty and S. Turner Eds. *Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory*. London: Routledge.

Boland, Tom. 2013a. "Towards an anthropology of critique: The modern experience of liminality and crisis." *Anthropological Theory,* 2013 13: 222

Boland, Tom. 2013b. *Critique as a Modern Social Phenomenon: The Critical Society*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press.

Boltanski, Luc. 2011. *On Critique - A Sociology of Emancipation*. Cambridge: Polity.

Boltanski, Luc and Eve Chiapello. 2002. *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Verso.

Boltanski, Luc. and Lauren. Thévenot 1999. "The sociology of critical capacity," European Journal of Social Theory 2(3): 359-77.

Boltanski, Luc. and Lauren. Thévenot 2006. *On Justification: Economies of Worth*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bonner, Kay. 1997. *A Great Place to Raise Kids: Interpretation, Science, and the Urban-Rural Debate*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press,

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1958. *The Algerians*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1972. Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Homo Academicus*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. and Wacquant, Loic. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1998. *Acts of Resistance: A Tyranny of the Marketplace*. New York: New Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1999. "The Social Definition of Photography." In Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall, Eds. *Visual Culture: The Reader*, pps. 162-180. London: Sage.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2004. *Science of Science and Reflexivity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bourgois, Phillip. 2001. "Culture of Poverty." In Levinson, David. Ed. [2001)2004. *The Encyclopedia of Homelessness*. Thousand Oaks California: Sage.

Bourgois, Phillip. 2005. *In Search of Self Respect, Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourgois, Phillip. and Jeffery Shonberg 2009. Righteous Dopefiend. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bowler Jr., Gary, M. 2010. "Netnography: A Method Specifically Designed to Study Cultures and Communities Online." *The Qualitative Report*. Volume 15 Number 5 September 2010: 1270-1275 http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR15-5/kozinets.pdf.

Brady, John. 1976. *The Craft of Interviewing*. New York: Vintage.

Briggs, Jean L. 1970. *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family*. Chicago: Aldine.

Brown, Wendy. 1995. *States of Inquiry: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*. *Princeton: Princeton University Press*.

Brown, Wendy. 2008. *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brunt, Lodewijk. 2004. "Into the Community." In Paul Atkinson, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont, John Lofland and Lyn Lofland Eds. *The Handbook of Ethnogr*aphy. Los Angeles: Sage. Pp. 80-92

Burchell, Graham, Gordon, Colin and Peter Miller Eds. 1991. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burchell, Graham. 1996. Liberal government and techniques of the self. In A. Barry, T. Osbourne and N. Rose, eds., Foucault and political reason: Liberalism, neoliberalism and rationalities. (19-36). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burt, M., Aron, L., Douglas, T., Valente, J., Lee, E., & Owen, B. (1999). *Homelessness: Programs and the people they serve*. *Findings of the National Survey of Homeless Assistance Providers and Clients*. Washington, DC: Interagency Council on the Homeless.

Burt, M., & Aron, L. (2000). *Millions still face homelessness in a booming economy*. Retrieved from http://www.urban.org/publications/900050.html.

Burt, M., Pearson, C., & Montgomery, A. (2005). *Strategies for preventing homelessness*. Retrieved from: www.huduser.org/Publications/pdf/Strategies_for_preventing_Homelessness.pdf.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble*. London: Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge.

Cadman, Louisa. 2010. "How (not) to be governed: Foucault, critique, and the political Environment and Planning." *Society and Space*. Volume 28, pages 539 – 556.

Caplow, Theodore. 1968. "Homelessness" in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Services*. New York: Crowell, Collier.

Capponi, Pat. 1997. *Dispatches from the Poverty Line*. Toronto: Penguin.

Capponi, Pat. 1999. *The War at Home: an intimate portrait of Canada's Poor*. Toronto: Penguin.

Carlos, Manuel L. 1973. 'Fictive Kinship and Modernization in Mexico: A Comparative Analysis.' *Anthropological Quarterly*, 46. 2: 86.

Carspecken, Phil F. 1994. *Critical Ethnography in Educational Research. A Theoretical and Practical Guide*. London: Routledge.

Carspecken, Phil. 1996. *Critical ethnography in educational research: A theoretical and practical guide*. New York: Routledge.

Casey, Edward S. 1993. *Getting Back To Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of The Place-World*., Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Castells, Manuel. 1977. *The Urban Question. A Marxist Approach* Alan Sheridan, translator. London: Edward Arnold.

Castells, Manuel. 1978. *City, Class and Power*. MacMillan; St. Martins Press London; New York.

Castells, Manuel. 1983. *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1987. *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1991. *Philosophy, Politics, Autonomy: Essays in Political Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Castoriadis, Cornelius. (1997) "Democracy as procedure and democracy as regime." Constellations 4(1): 1–18.

Caton, Carol. 1990. Homeless in America. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chambers, Edward T. 2004. *Roots for radicals*. New York: Continuum.

Chaplin, Elizabeth. 1994. *Sociology and Visual Representation*. New York: Routledge.

Chiozzi, Paolo. 1990. "What is Ethnographic Film? Remarks About a Debate." *Society for Visual Anthropology Review*, Mar., Vol. 6, No. 1: 26-28.

Chilton, Marianna. 2005. "Human Rights Are a Joke: Perspectives from the Poor on Health and Human Rights," Paper presented at Lessons Learned from Rights-Based Approaches to Health conference Atlanta, GA: 2005..

Church, Kathryn. 1995. *Forbidden Narratives*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach.

Church, Kathryn. Nina Bascia and Eric Shragge. eds. 2008. *Learning Through Community. Exploring Participatory Practices*. Toronto: Springer.

City of Toronto 2004. "Next Step Guidelines". Toronto.

City of Toronto, Staff Report, 2005. "Street Needs Assessment: Results and Key Findings. Toronto, June 20, 2006.

City of Toronto 2005. "The Toronto Drug Strategy: a comprehensive approach to alcohol and other drugs." Toronto, December 2005.

Clifford, James. and George. E. Marcus 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clifford, James. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cody, M. L. 1973. *Competition and Community Structure*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Coffey, Amanda. 1999. *The Ethnographic Self: fieldwork and the representation of identity*. London: Sage.

Cohen, A., Rappaport N. 1995. *Questions of Consciousness*. Routledge: London.

Collier, John, Jr., and Collier, Malcolm. 1986. *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Collins, Peter. 2002. "Connecting Anthropology and Quakerism: Transcending the Insider/Outsider in Post Socialist Saxony-Asnhladt." In E. Arweck and M. D. Stringer (eds). *Theorizing Faith: the Insider/Outsider problem in the Study of Ritual*. Birmingham University Press: 77-95.

Collins, Peter, Anselma Gallinat. 2010. "The Ethnographic Self as Resource: an

Introduction." In Peter Collins and Anselma Gallinat Ed. *The Ethnographic Self as Resource. New York: Berghan. Pp. 1-25.*

Collins, Peter, Gallinat, Anselma. 2010. Eds. *The Ethnographic Self as Resource. New York: Berghan.*

Collins, Peter. 2010. *The Ethnographic Self as Resource* In Peter Collins and Anselma Gallinat Ed. *The Ethnographic Self as Resource. New York: Berghan.* Pp. 228-246.

Connell, Raewyn, W. 1995. *Masculinities.* Berkeley: University of California Press,.

Connor, Linda. 2001. "Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, and Highland Bali: Fieldwork Photographs of Bayung Gede, 1936-1939." *Oceania*, Vol. 72, No. 1: 87+.

Conquergood, Dwight. 1991. "Rethinking Ethnography: Towards A Critical Cultural Politics." Communication Monographs, Vol. 58 - June, 1991:179 – 194.

Crawford, Peter Ian, and Simonsen, Jan Ketil. 1992. *Ethnographic Film Aesthetics and Narrative Traditions: Proceedings from NAFA 2.* Aarhus [Denmark]: Intervention

Crawford, Peter Ian, and Turton, David, Eds. 1992. *Film as Ethnography.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Crosby Joy. 2009. "Liminality and the Sacred: Discipline Building and Speaking with the Other." *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies* Vol. 5, No. 1, April.

Cruikshank, Barbara. 1996. "Revolutions within: Self Government and self-esteem." In A. Barry, T. Osbourne, and Nicolas Rose eds., *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, neoliberalism and rationalities*: 231-51. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cruikshank, Barbara. 1999. *The will to empower: democratic citizens and other subjects.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Crystal, Stephen and Goldstein, Mervyn. 1984. *Correlates of Shelter Utilization.* New York: City of New York.

Cuomo, Mario, M. 1983. *Never Again. A Report to the National Governor's Association.* Portland, Maine: Task Force on Homelessness.

Dahrendorf, Ralf. 1968. *Essays in the Theory of Society.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Davies, Gareth. 1996. *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline*

of Great Society Liberalism. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.

Davis Mike. 1984. Forced to Tramp : The Perspective of the Labor Press, 1870 - 1900 in Monkonnen *Walking To Work* Tramps in America 1790 - 1935 University of Nebraska Press, Nebraska.

Davis, Mike. 1986. *Prisoners of the American Dream*. New York: Verso.

Davis, Mike. 2006. *Planet of Slums*, London: Verso.

Dean, Mitchell. 1991. *The Constitution of Poverty*. New York: Routledge.

Dean, Mitchell. 1994. *Critical and Effective Histories. Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology*. New York: Routledge.

Dean, Mitchell. 1999. *Governmentality, Power and Rule in Modern Society*. London: Sage.

De Certeau, Michel. 1988. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

DeFilippis, James. 2004. *Unmaking Goliath: community control in the face of global capital*. New York: Routledge.

Delanty, Gerard. and P. Strydom Ed. 2003. *Philosophies of Social Science: The Classic and Contemporary Readings*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Delanty, Gerard. 2011. "Varieties of critique in sociological theory and their methodological implications for social research." *Irish Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 19.1:66-92.

Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari Félix. 1983. *Anti-Oedipus: Schizophrenia and Capitalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari Félix. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Denzin, Norman. K. 1977. *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic practices for the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks California: Sage.

Denzin, Norman K. The Experimental Text and the Limits of Visual Understanding. *EDUCATIONAL THEORY* /Winter 1995 / Volume 45 / Number 1.

Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna Lincoln. 2005; 2011. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Denzin Norman. K. and Michael Giardini. 2010. *Qualitative Inquiry and Human Rights*. Walnut Creek California: Left Coast Press.

DePastino, Todd. 2003. *Citizen Hobo*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1992. 'Force of Law: The "Mystical Foundation of Authority." in D. Cornell, M. Rosenfeld and D. Carlson (eds.), *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice*. New York and London: Routledge.

Derrida, Jacques. 1996. 'Remarks on Deconstruction and Pragmatism', in Ch. Mouffe ed.., *Deconstruction and Pragmatism*. New York and London: Routledge. (77–88.)

Derrida, Jacques. 1999. 'Hospitality, Justice, and Responsibility. A Dialogue with Jacques Derrida', in R. Kearney and M. Dooley (eds.), *Questioning Ethics. Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*. New York and London: Routledge. (65–83).

Derrida, J. and Ewald, F.: 1995, 'A Certain "Madness" Must Watch Our Thinking. An Interview with Jacques Derrida', Educational Theory 45, 273–291.

Derrida, Jacques. [1974] 1997. *Of Grammatology*. Corrected version. Trans. Gayatri Spivak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 2001. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. New York: Routledge.

Derrida, Jacques. 2002. "Forces of Law: The 'Mystical Foundation of Authority'" in Acts of Religion. New York: Routledge.

Derrida, Jacques. 2005. *Rogues, Two Essays On Reason*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

De Saussure, Ferdinand. 1986. *Course in General Linguistics*. trans. R. Harris. La Salle, Ill.: Open Court.

De Tocqueville, Alexander, 1961. *Democracy in America,* 2 vols. New York: Shocken.

Dewey, John, 1999. *The Essential Dewey* (two volumes edited by Hickman, L. and Alexander, T.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Diener, E., & Biswas-Diener, R. 2002. "Will money increase subjective well-being?" A literature review and guide to needed research. *Social Indicators Research*, 57, 119-169.

Doherty Joe, Volker Busch-Geertsema, Vita Karpuskiene, Jukka Korhonen, Eoin O'Sullivan, Ingrid Sahlin, Antonio Tosi, Agostino Petrillo and Julia Wygnańska.

2008. “Homelessness and Exclusion: Regulating public space in European Cities.” *Surveillance & Society* 5(3): 290-314.

Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London : Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Downing, J. 2001.. *Radical Media, Rebellious Communication and Social Movements*. Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage,

Drache, Daniel. 2008. *Defiant Publics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Dumm, Thomas, L. 2002. *Michel Foucault and the Politics of Freedom*. London: Rowman and Littlefield.

Dumont, Louis. 1980. *Homo Heirarchus*. Chicago, Ill.: Chicago University Press,

Durkheim, Emile. 1964. *The Division of Labour in Society*. New York: The Free Press.

Durkheim, Emile. 1982. *Rules of Sociological Method*. 1895. London: The Free Press,.

Dworkin, Ronald. 1996. *Freedom’s Law*. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard Univ. Press.

Edwards, Elizabeth, ed. 1992. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Edwards, Elizabeth. 2001. *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*. Oxford, England: Berg.

Edwards, Elizabeth. 2002. “Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs.” Visual Studies, Vol. 17, No. 1: 67-75.

Eisenhart, Margaret and Howe, Kenneth. 1992. “Validity in Educational Research.” In M. LeCompte, W. Millroy, & J. Preissle (Eds.), The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education (pp. 642-680). San Diego: Academic Press.

Elden, Stuart and Crampton, W. Jeremy. (2007) *Space Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*. Burlington VT: Ashgate.

Elder, Sarah. 1995. “Collaborative Filmmaking: An Open Space for Making Meaning, A Moral Ground for Ethnographic Film.” *Visual Anthropology Review*, Sep., Vol. 11, No. 2: 94-101.

Elder, Sarah. 2001. “Images of Asch.” *Visual Anthropology Review*, Sep., Vol. 17, No. 2: 89-109.

Englehart, Lucinda. 2003. “Media Activism: The Significance of viewing locations,

facilitation and audience dynamics in the reception of HIV/AIDS films in South America." *Visual Anthropology Review*. Vol. 19 (1 and 2):73-85.

Enjolras B. & R. H. Waldhal (Eds.). 2008. *Non-governmental organizations and public policy*. Oslo: Novus Forlag.

Etzioni, A. 1993. *The spirit of community: rights, responsibilities, and the communitarian agenda*. New York: Crown Publishers.

Etzioni, Antonio. ed.. 1995. *New communitarian thinking: persons, virtues, institutions, communities*. Charlottesvile and London: University Press of Virginia.

Evans, Fred. 2009. *The Multivoiced Body*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fabian, Johannes. 1971. Language, History, and Anthropology. *Journal for the Philosophy of the Social Sciences* l(l):19-47.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the other: how Anthropology makes its object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fabian, Johannes. 1995. "Misunderstanding and the Perils of Context." *American Anthropologist, new series*. Vol. 97. No. 1:41-50.

Fabian, Johannes. 1996. *Remembering the Present – painting and popular history in Zaire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fabian Johannes. 2007. *Memory Against Culture: Arguments and Reminders*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Fabian Johannes. 2008. *Ethnography as Commentary: Writing from the Virtual Archive*. Durham, N.C. : Duke University Press.

Fairbanks II, Robert P. 2004. Communal Re-Appropriation of Blighted Spaces: Governmentality and the Politics of Everyday Life in the Kensington Recovery House Movement. (Dissertation) University of Pennsylvania.

Fetterman, D. 1998. *Ethnography: Step by step (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Feld, Steven and Keith. Basso eds. 1996. *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, New: SAR Press.

Ferguson, Robert, M. 1911. *The vagrant: what to do with him*. London: J. Nisbett and Co.

Fine, Gary. A. 1983. *Shared Fantasy*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Finley, Susan. 2003. "The faces of dignity: rethinking the politics of homelessness and

poverty in America." Qualitative Studies in Education. Vol. 16, No. 4:509-531.

Fisher, R. and E. Shragge 2000. Challenging community organizing: facing the 21st century. *Journal of Community Practice* 8.3, 1–19.

Flaherty, Robert J. 1922. "How I Filmed 'Nanook of the North'." *World's Work*, October: 632-640.

Foley, Douglas. E. 2002. "Critical Ethnography: the reflexive turn." in *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15:4, 469-490.

Foley, Douglas, E. ed. 2002. Writing Ethnographies: Some Queries and Reflections. A special issue of the *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*. Vol. 15, No. 4: 383-495.

Foley, Doug. 2002. In Y. Zou and H. T. Trueba (Eds.), *Advances in Ethnographic Research: From Our Theoretical and Methodological Roots to Post-Modern Critical Ethnography*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Foley, Grif. 1999. *Learning in Social Action: contribution to Understanding Informal education*. London: Zed Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1969. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. trans. A.M. S. Smith. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1975. *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*. trans. by A. Sheridan. New York: Random House.

Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (ed. C. Gordon). Brighton: Harvester.

Foucault, Michel. 1982. 'Technologies of the Self', in Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton eds.. *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1982. The Subject and the Power, in: Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Brighton: Harvester, pp. 208-26.

Foucault, Michel. 1984. 'What is Enlightenment?', pp. 32–50 in Paul Rabinow (ed) The Foucault Reader. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1985a. *The Use of Pleasure*, New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1986a. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacretics*, 16:22-27.

Foucault, Michel. 1986b. *The care of the self: history of sexuality volume III*. New York: Vintage.

Foucault, Michel. 1988. "Technologies of the Self" (A seminar with Michel Foucault at t he University of Vermont, October 1982), in: Martin, Luther H., Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton (eds), *Technologies of the Self. A seminar with Michel Foucault*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1991. 'Governmentality', trans. Rosi Braidotti and revised by Colin Gordon, in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller eds. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, pp. 87–104. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1997. *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, edited by Paul Rabinow, New York: New Press.

Foucault, Michel. 2004. *The Birth of Biopolitics: lectures at the Collège de France 1978- 1979*. Paris: Palgrave.

Foucault, Michel. 2007[1997]. *The Politics of Truth*. Los Angeles: Semiotexte.

Foucault, Michel. 2007. 'What is critique?' pp. 41-82 in M. Foucault, *The Politics of Truth,* S. Lotringer (ed.) New York: Semiotext(e).

Frampton, Caelie. and Gary. Kinsman, A. K. Thompson and Kate. Tilleczek eds. 2006. *Sociology For the Changing World, Social Movements/Social Research*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Freud, Sigmund. 1964. *Civilization and its Discontents*. London: Vintage and Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis,.

Gallant, Gloria, Joyce Brown and Jacques Tremblay. 2004. "From Tent City To Housing: an Evaluation of The City of Toronto's Emergency Homelessness Pilot Project" EHPP. City of Toronto.

Gans, Herbert. 2010. "Public Ethnography: Ethnography as Public Sociology." Qualitative Sociology vol. 33:97-104.

Gans, Herbert. 1995. *The War Against the Poor: The Underclass and Antipoverty Policy*. New York: Basic Books

Gans, Herbert. 1991. *People, Plans and Policies: Essays on Poverty, Racism and Other National Urban Problems*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Gans, Herbert. 1969. “Culture and Class in the study of poverty”. In D.P. Moynihan ed. *On Understanding Poverty: Perspectives from the Social Sciences*. New York: Basic. (201-228).

Gardiner, Michael. *The Dialogics of Critique. M.M. Bakhtin and the Theory of Ideology*. London: Routledge.

Garfinkel, Harold. 1972. "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies." in Symbolic Interactionism. Edited by J. Manis and B. Meltzer, 201-208. New York: Allyn and Bacon.

Garfinkel, Harold. 1967. Studies *in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Garfinkel, Harold. 1963. "A conception of, and experiments with, 'trust' as a condition of stable concerted actions." in Motivation and Social Interaction. Edited by O. J. Harvey, pp. 187-238, New York: The Ronald Press.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, Clifford. 1983. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.

Giddens, Anthony. 1973. *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London : Hutchinson.

Giddens, Anthony. 1976. *New Rules of Sociological Method: a Positive Critique of interpretative Sociologies*. London : Hutchinson.

Giddens, Anthony. 1977. *Studies in Social and Political Theory*. London : Hutchinson.

Giddens, Anthony. 1979. *Central Problems in Social Theory . Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. London: Macmillan.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 2006. *Sociology* 5th edition. Cambridge: Polity.

Glaser, Barney, and Anselm. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Glasser, Irene. 1994. *Homelessness in Global Perspective*. New York: G. K. Hall.

Godechot, Olivier. 2009. Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot (translated by Catherine Porter)On Justification: Economies of Worth Book review: *Cultural Sociology*.

Volume 3 Number 1. March 2009.

Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self In Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor.

Goffman, Erving. 1961. "Role Distance." Pp. 84-152 in *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Goffman, Erving. 1963. Stigma. New York: Anchor.

Goffman, Erving. 1967. *Interaction Ritual,* New York: Doubleday.

Goffman, Erving. 1969. *Strategic interaction*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1979. [1976]. *Gender Advertisements*. London: Macmillan.

Goffman, Erving 1997. *The Goffman reader*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell.

Gottdiener, Mark. 1995. The Social Production of Urban Space. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Gordon, Colin. 1991. "Governmentality and Rationality - an introduction." In *The Foucault Effect – studies in governmentality*. Edited by, G. Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gounis, Kostas. 1996. "Urban Marginality and Ethnographic Practice: Ethnography's Interest. *City & Society*: 108-118.

Government of Canada. "Canada-Ontario Affordable Housing Programme: Housing Allowance/Rent Supplement Program Guidelines".

Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.

Griffiths, Allison. 2002. *Wondrous Differences: Cinema, Anthropology and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Grimshaw, Anne. 2001. *The Ethnographer's Eye, Ways of Seeing in Modern Anthropology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guthrie Woody. 1943. *Bound For Glory*. New York: Plume.

Gutting, Gary ed.., 2005, *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Habermas, Jürgen, 1970. *Toward a Rational Society*, J. J. Shapiro (trans.). Boston: Beacon. [German, 1968a, 1969]

Habermas Jürgen, 1971. "Knowledge and human interests: a general perspective," in *Knowledge and Human Interests*. trans. by Jeremy J. Shapiro, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), pp. 301-17.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1987. *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, Frederick Lawrence trans.: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1990. *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*, C. Lenhardt and S.W. Nicholson trans. Cambridge: MIT Press,.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1998. 'Actions, Speech, Acts, Linguistically Mediated Interactions and the Lifeworld' in M. Cook ed.., *On The Pragmatics of Communication*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Habermas, Jürgen. 2006. 'Political communication in media society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension? The impact of normative theory on empirical research'. *Communication Theory*. 16: 411-26.

Hacking, Ian. 2004. *Historical Ontology*. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press.

Hall, Chase G. 2012. *The Oregonian* "Portland's Dignity Village expects to win contract extension" Published: Tuesday, July 10, 2012.

Halstead, Narmala, Eric Hirsch & Judith Okely. (eds) 2008. *Knowing How to Know: Fieldwork and the Ethnographic Present*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. 1983. *Ethnography principals in practice*. London: Tavistock.

Hamner, M. Gail. 2002. *American Pragmatism: A Religious Genealogy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hamner, Gail. 2003. "What is an Act?": Reflective Action in Pragmatism and Praxis Philosophy." PoLAR. Vol. 26, No. 2:38-60.

Hannerz, Ulf. 1990. "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture." *Theory Culture Society*; 7; 237

Haraway, Donna. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and t

he Privilege of Partial Perspectives." *Feminist Studies* 14(3): 575–99.

Harman, Lesley. 1989. *When A Hostel Becomes a Home: Experiences of Women*. Toronto: Grammond Press.

Harrington, Michael. 1962. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*. New York: Penguin.

Harvey, David. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. New York: Blackwell.

Harvey, David. 2008. "The Right to the City." New Left Review, 53 Sept, 2008:23-41.

Hastrup, Kirsten. 1992. "Writing Ethnography: State of the Art." In Judith Okely and H. Callaway (eds). *Anthropology and Autobiography*. London: Routledge. Pages: 116-33.

Hastrup, Kirsten. 1992b. "Out of Anthropology: The anthropologist as object of dramatic representation." *Cultural Anthropology* , VOL 7, no. 3, pp. 327-345.

Haver, William. 1996. *This Body of My Death: AIDS and Historical Consciousness*. Stanford. Stanford University Press.

Hawley 1963. "Community power and urban renewal success", AJS, 68:423, January.

Hay, D. 2006. "Economic Arguments for Action on the Social Determinants of Health". Canadian Policy Networks. Toronto.

Hayek, Frederich, A. 1960. *The Constitution of Liberty*. London: Routledge.

Hayek, Frederich, A. 1944. *The Road to Serfdom*. London: Routledge.

Headley, Bernard D. 1990-91. "Race, Class and Powerlessness in World Economy." The Black Scholar (2) 1: 14-21.

Hegel, Georg, Wilhelm, F. 1969. *Hegel's Science of Logic*. trans. A. V. Miller. London: Allen and Unwin.

Hegel, Georg, Wilhelm, F. 1977. *Phenomenology of Spirit*. trans. A. V. Miller. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heidegger, Martin. 1927. *Seit and Zei*. Tubingen Niemeyer: Verlag.

Hilgers, Mathieu. *Habitus* Heider, Karl G. 1976. *Ethnographic Film*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Freedom and Reflexivity. 2009. THEORY & PSYCHOLOGY VOL. 19 (6): 728–755.

Hindess, Barry. 199. *Discourses of Power. From Hobbes to Foucault*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hindmarsh, John. and Christian Heath, 2000. "Sharing The Tools of the Trade: The Interaction Constitution of Workplace Objects". Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 295.: 517 -556.

Hirschkind, Lynn. 1994. "Bedeviled Ethnography" in *American Ethnologist*, VOL 21 no. 1 201-204

Hobbes, Thomas. 1991[1651]. *Leviathan*. ed. Richard Tuck. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Hockings, Paul, ed. 1995. *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Holquist, Michael 2002. *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his world* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Honneth, Axel. 2000. 'The possibility of a disclosing critique of society: The "Dialectic of Enlightenment" in light of current debate in social criticism'. *Constellations* 7(1):
116-27.

Honneth, Axel. 2002. 'An interview with Axel Honneth: The role of sociology in the theory of recognition', *European Journal of Social Theory* 5(2): 265-77.

Honneth, Axel. 2004. 'Organized self-realization; Some paradoxes of individualization', *European Journal of Social Theory* 7(4); 463-78.

Hook, Derek. 2001. "Discourse, Knowledge, materiality, history: Foucault and discourse analysis." (online). London: LSE Research Online.

Hopper, Kim. 1990. "Advocacy for the homeless in the 1980's. " in Caton, 1990. *Homeless in America,* New York: Oxford: 160 - 174.

Hopper, K. 1991. A poor apart: The distancing of homeless men in New York's history. *Social Research, 59*(1), 107–132.

Hopper, Kim. 1998. "Housing the Homeless." *Social Policy*, Vol. 28(no. 3):64(4).

Hopper, Kim. 2003. *Reckoning with homelessness*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

Hopper, Kim and Jim Baumohl. 1994. "Held in Abeyance: Rethinking Homelessness and Advocacy." *American Behavioral Scientist* 3 7: 522-52.

Hopper, Kim., & Baumohl, Jim. 1996. Redefining the cursed word: A historical interpretation of American homelessness. In J. Baumohl (Ed.), *Homelessness in America* (pp. 3–14).Westport, CT: Oryx Press.

Hopper, Kim and Baumohl, Jim. 2004. "Liminality." In Levinson, D. ed. *Encyclopedia of Homelessness*. (354 -356). Thousand Oaks California: Sage.

Hopper, Kim and Baumohl, Jim. 2007. "Liminality." In Levinson, D. ed. *Encyclopedia of Homelessness*. (354 -356). Thousand Oaks California: Sage.

Horkheimer, Max. 1985. "The End Of Reason." Andrew Arato and Gebhardt, Eike, eds. *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader pp*. 26 - 49.

Housing Liberation Front - (HLF) Website http://homelessliberation.wordpress.com/tag/oregonian/.

Hughes, Everett. C. 1971. *The Sociological Eye*. Chicago: Aldine,

Hulchanski, David. 2009. Homelessness in Canada: Past, Present, Future. Keynote Address, University of Calgary Canada, February 2009.

Hulchanski, David, 2009. Campsie, Phillipa and Shirley Chau, Stephen Hwang and Emily Paradis. 'What's in a word?" Cities Centre. University of Toronto.

Hull, George. 2009. "Book Review: The New Spirit of Capitalism." *Huma-Mente*. Issue 10. July 2009.

Husserl. Edmund, 1910. "Philosophy as Rigorous Science," trans. in Q. Lauer (ed.), *Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy*, New York: Harper.

Husserl, Edmund. 1960. *Cartesian Meditations*, trans. D. Cairns. The Hague: Martinus Nijoff.

Husserl, Edmund. 1999. *The Essential Husserl*, ed. D. Welton, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hwang, Stephen. and A. Cheung, 2004. "Risk of death among homeless women: a cohort study and review of the literature." *CMAJ*, April 13, 2004:1708.,

Innis, Harold. A. 2007. *Empire and Communications*. Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Interagency Council on Homelessness (n.d.). *The 10-year planning process to end chronic homelessness in your community: A step-by-step guide*. Retrieved from http://www.ich.gov/slocal/plans/toolkit.pdf

Interagency Council on the Homeless. (1992). *Outcasts on Main Street*. Washington, DC: Author.

Interagency Council on Homelessness. (2005, February 3). *Interagency Council on Homelessness e-newsletter*. Retrieved February 11, 2007, from http://www.ich.gov/newsletter/archive/02-03-05_e-newsletter.htm.

Interagency Council on Homelessness. (2006, July 11) web posting of executive director's comments to the National Summit for Jurisdictional Leaders. http://www.ich.gov/2006.html.

Institute for the Study of Homelessness and Poverty at the Weingart Center. (2005). *Homeless counts in major US cities and counties*. Retrieved from http://www.weingart.org/center/pdf/200512-city-county-homeless-counts.pdf.

Isin, Engen. F. 1992. *Cities Without Citizens*. Montreal: Black Rose Press.

Isin, Engen 2002. *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*. Minneapolis*:* University Of Minnesota Press.

Isin, E. F. and P.K. Wood, 1999. *Citizenship and Identity*. London: Sage.

Isin, E. F. and Nielsen, G. eds.. 2008. Acts *Of Citizenship*. London: Zed.

Jay, Martin 1984. *Marxism and Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Lukács to Habermas*. Cambridge: Polity.

Jackson, Kenneth, T. 1985. *Crabgrass frontier. The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford.

James, William. 1977. *The Writings of William James*. John J. McDermott, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

James, William. 1978. *Pragmatism and The Meaning of Truth*. A. J. Ayer, intro. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

James, William. 1982. *Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*. New York: The Modern Library.

James, William. 1983. *The Principles of Psychology*. George Miller, intro. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jencks, Christopher. 1994. *The Homeless*. Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press.

Johnson, Peter. 2012. *Heterotopia Studies*. Web Paper.

Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University. *2006. America's Rental Housing*. Cambridge, MA: Author.

Jones, Richard G. Jr. & Christina R. Foust. 2008. "Staging and Enforcing Consumerism in the City: The Performance of Othering on the 16th Street Mall." *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies*. Vol. 4, No. 1, March 2008.

Jones, Hannah. 2007. "Exploring the creative possibilities of awkward space in the city." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 83 2007. 70–76.

Joseph, Miranda. 2002. *Against the romance of community*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kant, Immanuel. 1983. Perpetual *Peace and Other Essays* trans. T. Humphrey. Cambridge: Hackett.

Kant, Immanuel. 1992. *Critique of Pure Reason* (Trans. N. Kemp Smith). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Kant, Immanuel. 1992b, 'An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?', in P. Waugh (ed.), Postmodernism. A Reader, Edward Arnold, London, pp. 89–95.

Kant, Immanuel. [1785], 1993. *The Metaphysics of Morals*. trans. Mary J. Gregor. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press.

Karnas, F. (2007, March 1). *Discussant comments: Historic and contextual influences on the U.S. response to contemporary homelessness*. National Symposium on Homelessness Research. Washington, DC.

Kateb, George. 2010. *Human Dignity*. Cambridge Mass: Belknap Press.

Katz, Michael B. 1989. *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Katz, Michael. B. 2001. *The Price of Citizenship: redefining the American welfare state*. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Company.

Kelman, Herbert C. 1976. "Reflections on the history and status of peace research." Presidential address for the Peace Science Society, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Kelman, Herbert. C. 1977. "The Conditions Criteria and Dialectics of Human Dignity: A transnational perspective". "International Studies Quarterly vol. 21 Sept. 1977:529-552

Kemp, Stephen. 2005. 'Critical realism and the limits of philosophy', European Journal of Social Theory (2): 171-91.

Kerr, Daniel. "We Know What The Problem Is: Using Oral History to Develop a Collaborative Analysis of Homelessness from the Bottom Up." The *Oral History Review*, Vol. 30, No. 1 Winter-Spring 2003.:27-45.

Kincheloe, J. L. & McLaren, P. 2000. Rethinking critical theory and qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2nd edition. Chicago: Sage.

Kluback, William. 1989. *The legacy of Hermann Cohen*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Kleinman, Arthur. 2004. "Ethics and Experience: An Anthropological Approach to Health Equity," in S. Anand, F. Peter, and A. Sen eds., *Public Health, Ethics, and Equity*. N.Y.: Oxford University Press,.: 269-82.

Kerouac, Jack. 1950. *On the Road*. New York: Penguin.

Kerouac, Jack. 1959. *The Dharma Bums*. London: Flamingo.

Kerouac, Jack. 1962. *Lonesome Traveller*. London Pan: Books.

Knight, Peter, T. 2002. *Small-Scale Research: Pragmatic Inquiry in Social Science and the Caring*. London: Sage.

Koegel, Paul and Beck, David. 2004. "Houston." In D. Levinson ed. The Encyclopedia of Homelessness. London: Sage.

Kolnai, Aurel. 1976. "Dignity." *Philosophy*. Vol. 51. No. 197:251-271.

Koselleck, Reinhart. 1988. *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society*. Cambridge: MA; MIT

Krauss, C. 2002. "Amid Prosperity, Toronto Shows Signs of Fraying" *The New York Times*, Sunday June 16.

Kristeva, Julia. 1986. *The Kristeva Reader*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Kroker, Arthur. 1984. *Technology and the Canadian Mind: Innis/McLuhan/Grant*. Montreal; New World Perspectives.

Kuper, Adam. 1990. "Coming of Age in Anthropology?" *Society for Visual Anthropology Review*, Mar., Vol. 6, No. 1: 22-25.

Kusmer, Kenneth. 2003. *Down and Out, on the Road. The Homeless in American History*. New York: Oxford.

Lacan, Jacques 2001. *Ecrits* trans. Alan Sheridan. London: Routledge.

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. 1985. *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics*. London: Verso.

Lacroix, Marie. and Eric Shragge 2003. "Community capacity building and leadership at the grassroots." Human Resources Development Canada: Ottawa, Canada.

Larsen, Lars. 2011. "Turning Critique inside out: Foucault, Boltanski and Chiapello on the tactical displacement of critique and power." *Distinktion: Sacandinavian Journal of Social Theory*, 12:1, 37-55.

Lather, Patti. 1991. *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. (New York, Routledge).

Lather, Patti. 1993. "Fertile Obsession: Validity After Poststructuralism," *The Sociological Quarterly*. 34 (1993):673-94.

Lather, Patti. 2000. "Reading the image of Rigoberta Menchu: undecidability and language lessons." *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 13(2), 153–162.

Lather, Patti. (2001) Validity as an incitement to discourse: Qualitative research and the crisis of legitimation, in: V. Richardson (Ed.) Handbook of research on teaching (4th edn) (Washington DC, AERA), 241–250.

Lather, Patti. 2004a. This is your father's paradigm: governmental intrusion and the case of qualitative research in education, Qualitative Inquiry, 10(1), 15–34.

Lather, Patti. 2004b. Scientific research in education: a critical perspective, British Educational Research Journal, 30(6), 759–771.

Lather, Patti. 2004c. Foucauldian 'indiscipline' as a sort of application: qu(e)err(y)ing research/policy/practice, in: B. Baker & K. Hayning (Eds) Dangerous coagulations: the uses of Foucault in the study of education (New York, Peter Lang).

Lather, Patti.. 2005. From competing paradigms to disjunctive affirmation: teaching research methodology in education, in: C. Hancock & P. Paul (Eds) Essays on the role and nature of research within the PhD program in education (Columbus, The Ohio State University).

Lather, Patti. 2006. "Paradigm proliferation as a good thing to think with: teaching research in education as a wild profusion." International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education. Vol. 19. No. 1:35-57.

Lather, Patti. 2007. "Post modernism, Post-structuralism and Post(Critical) Ethnography:

of Ruins, Aporias and Angels." In *Handbook of Ethnography*. Paul Atkinson, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont and John and Lyn Lofland. London: Sage. Pp. 477-493.

Latour, Bruno. 1986. "The powers of association", pp. 264–280 in John Law (ed) Power, Action and Belief. London/Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Latour, Bruno. 1987. *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*. Cambridge. MA: Harvard University Press.

Latour, Bruno. 1991. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge; Harvard University Press.

Latour, Bruno. 2004. "Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern?' *Critical Inquiry,* vol. 30, no. 2:225-258.

Latour Bruno. 2004b. *The Politics of Nature. How to Bring Science into Democracy*. Translated by Catherine Porter. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Latour, Bruno. 2005. *Reassembling the Social*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Law, John and John Hassard. 1999. *Actor Network Theory and After*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Law, John. 2004. *After Method – mess in social science research*. London: Routledge.

Law, John, 2007. 'Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics,' version of 25th April 2007, available at http://www. heterogeneities. net/publications/Law2007ANTandMaterialSemiotics.pdf.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1981. *The Survival of Capitalism*. Berlin: Schocken Books.

Lefebvre, H. [1974]1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, UK. : Editions Anthropos.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1996. *Writings on Cities*. Translated and edited by Koffman, E., Lebas, E. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, Henri. 2000. *Everyday Life in the Modern World* , translated by Sacha Rabinovitch. London: Athlone.

Lefebvre, Henri. 2003. *The Urban Revolution*. translated by Roberto Bononno, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Leginski, Walter. 2007. "Historical and Contextual Influences on the U.S. Response to Contemporary Homelessness." 2007 National Symposium on Homelessness Research. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Lemke, Thomas 2001. “The Birth of Bio-Politics” – Michel Foucault’s Lecture at the Collège de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality, in: *Economy & Society*, VOL 30. No. 2, pp. 190-207.

Lemke, Thomas. 2001. “Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique.” Paper presented at the *Rethinking Marxism Conference*, University of Amherst (MA), September 21-24, 2000. Some sections contain revised versions of previously published material (see Lemke 2001).

Lemke, Thomas. 2007. “An indigestible meal? Foucault, governmentality and state theory.” Distinktion 15: 43–64.

Lemann, N. 1996. [2004 edition] “Kicking in groups” in W. A. Martin ed.., *The Urban Community*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Levi, Primo. 1984. The Periodic Table. New York: Penguin.

Levi, Primo. 1989. *The Drowned and The Saved*. New Work: Vintage.

Levinas, Emmanuel. 1978. *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence.,* trans. A. Lingis. Kluwer, Dondrecht.

Levinas, Emmanuel. 1989. “Ethics and politics” in S. Hand ed. The *Levinas Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Levinson, David. Ed. 2004. *The Encyclopedia of Homelessness*. Thousand Oaks California: Sage.

Lewis, Herbert. S. 1998. "The Misrepresentation of Anthropology and its Consequences." *American Anthropologist*, 100: 716-731.

Lewis, Oscar. 1959. *Five Families; Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* New York: Mentor.

Lewis, Oscar. 1961. The Children of Sanchez. New York: Vintage.

Lewis, Oscar. 1996 (1966). “The Culture of Poverty.” G. Gmelch and W. Zenner, eds. *Urban Life*. Longrove, Ill.: Waveland Press,

Lewis, Oscar. 1966. “The culture of poverty.” *Scientific American*, 215:19-25.

Liebow, Elliot. 1967. *Tally’s Corner: a study of street corner Negro Men*. Boston: Little Brown.

Lincoln, Yvonna. S. and Guba, Egon. G. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. London: Sage.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, Martin Trow and James S. Coleman. 1959. *Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union*, New York, Free Press.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1960. Political Man. *The Social Bases of Politics*. New York: Doubleday.

Lipset, Seymour. M. and G. Marks 2000. *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Little, Adrian. 2002. *The politics of community: theory and practice*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.

Lizardo, Omar. April 7, 2009. The Cognitive Origins of Bourdieu's Habitus. University of Arizona - olizardo@email.arizona.edu)(unpublished paper).

Locke, John. 1982. *Second Treatise on Government*. Ed. By Richard Cox. Wheeling: Harlan Davidson.

Locke, John. 1989. *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*. 1689. ed. By Peter H. Niddick. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Logan, John R. and Harvey L. Molotch. 2007. *Urban Fortunes*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Loizos, Peter. 1993. *Innovation in Ethnographic film: From Innocence to Self-Consciousness, 1955-85*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lomax Alan. 1966. *The Folk Songs Of North America*. London: Cassell.

London, Jack. 1905. The War on Classes. New York: Regent Press. (Accessed Online at http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1187/pg1187.txt).

Lukács, Georg 1968. *History and Class Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Lutz, Catherine, and Jane Collins. 1991. "The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: The Example of National Geographic." *Visual Anthropology Review*, Mar., Vol. 7, No. 1: 134-149.

MacDougall, David. 1998. *Transcultural Cinema*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mackenzie, Iain. 1994. PhD Thesis: "Limits, liminality and the present: towards a Foucauldian ontology of social criticism." University of Glasgow.

Madison, D. Sonyi, 2012.. *Critical Ethnography*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1967. A *Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Mann, J. 1998. "Dignity and Health", The UDHR's Revolutionary First Article," *Health and Human Rights 3*/2:31-36.

Marchand, Trevor, H. J. 2010. *Making Knowledge' explorations of the indissoluble relation between mind body and environment. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.*

Marcus, George, E. and Dick Cushman. 1982. "Ethnographies as Texts." *Annual review of Anthropology*. 11, 25-69.

Marcus, George E. and Michael M. J. Fischer 1986. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: an experimental moment in the human sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marcus, George E. 1990. "The Modernist Sensibility in Recent Ethnographic Writing and the Cinematic Metaphor of Montage." Society for Visual Anthropology Review, Mar., Vol. 6, No. 1: 2-12.

Marcuse, Herbert, 1941. *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory*.

Marcuse, Peter. 1988. "Neutralizing Homelessness" *Socialist Review* 18, no. 1: 69-95.

Marcuse, Peter, 1990. *"*Homelessness and Housing Policy.*"* In Caton, 1990. *Homeless in America*. New York: Oxford: 134 - 160.

Marin, M. V., Vacha, E. F. 1995. "Self Help Strategies and Resources Among People at Risk of Homelessness: Empirical Findings and Social Services Policy." *Social Work*. Vol. 39 (6):649-657.

Marshall, T. H. 1950. *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Marx, Karl. and Frederick. Engels, 1848. *The Communist Manifesto*. London: Penguin.

Massey, Doreen and Denton, N. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place, Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, Doreen. 2007. *World City*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Massey, Doreen and Denton, N. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mayer, M. 2003. "The Onward Sweep of Social Capital: abuses and consequences for understanding cities, communities and urban movements." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, 110–32.

McClagan, Meg. (guest editor) 2006. "Introduction: Making Human Rights Claims Public." American Anthropologist, Vol. 108 (1):191-20.

McGee, Patrick. 2002. *Telling the Other: the Question of Value in Modern and Post-Colonial Writing*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

McGranahan, Carole. 2006. "Introduction: Public Anthropology." *India Review*, vol. 5 nos. 3-4, July/October: 255-267.

McLuhan, Eric. and F. Zingrone eds. 1995. *Essential McLuhan*. New York: Basic Books.

Mead, George. H. 1934. *Mind, Self, and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mead, Margaret. 1928. *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New York: Morrow.

Mead, Margaret, and Gregory Bateson. 1977. "On the Use of the Camera in Anthropology." *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, Dec., Vol. 4, No. 2: 78-80.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 1962. *Phenomenology of perception* (transl. by C. Smith). London: Routledge.

Mental Help Net, a service of CenterSite, LLC, 2002. "The Self-Help Group Sourcebook: Your Guide to Community & Online Self-Help Support Groups," published Fall, 2002, by American Self-Help Group Clearinghouse - copyright © American Self-Help Clearinghouse, 1993-2013

Merton, Robert .K. 1949. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: The Free Press.

Merton, Robert. K. 1973. "Sociology of Science", *in* Storer, N. W. ed., *The Sociology of Science: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Michels, Robert [1915]2001. *Political Parties. A sociological study of the oligarchic tendencies of modern democracy*. Kitchener: Batoche.

Miller, Peter, Rose, Nikolas. 1990. "Governing economic life". *Economy & Society*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 1-31.

Miller, Peter and Nikolas Rose. 1995. "Political Thought and the Limits of Orthodoxy: A Response to Curtis" The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), pp. 590-597.

Mills, C. Wright. 1970. *The Sociological Imagination*. London: Penguin.

Min, Enjun. ed. 1999.. *Reading the Homeless - The Media's Image of Homeless Culture*. Westport: Praeger.

Mingione, Enzo, ed. 1996. Urban Poverty and The Underclass: A reader. Malden: Blackwell.

Mitchell, Don. 1995. "The End of Public Space, People's Park, Definitions of the Public and Democracy." *AAAG*, VOL 85, No. 1 March 1995.: 108-33.

Mitchell, Don. 2003. *The Right to the City, Social Justice and the fight for public space*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Moor, J. H. 1989. "How to invade and protect privacy with computers." In **C. C.** Gould (Ed.), *The information web* (pp. 57-70). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Moor, J. H. 1989. "The Ethics of Privacy Protection." In Library Trends. Vol. 39, Nos. 1 and 2:69-82.

Morgan, Lewis Henry. 1993. In White, Leslie A., ed. *The Indian Journals, 1859-62*. New York: Dover Publications.

Morphy, Howard. 1994. "The Interpretation of Ritual: Reflections from Film on Anthropological Practice." Man, Mar., Vol. 29, No. 1: 117-146 *Identity*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.

Mouffe, Chantal. 2005. On the political. London/New York: Routledge.

Morson, Gary & Emerson, Caryl 1990. *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a prosaics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Moynihan, Daniel, P. 1965. *The Negro Family: the case for national action*. Washington, D.C. U.S. Department of Labor.

Myerhoff, B. 1982. 'Life history among the elderly: Performance, visibility and remembering.' In Ruby, J. (ed): *A Crack in the Mirror. Reflective perspectives in anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Myerhoff, B. 1986. 'Life not death in Venice: Its second life.' In Turner, V. & Bruner, E. (eds): *The Anthropology of Experience*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

National Alliance to End Homelessness. (2000). *A plan, not a dream: How to end homelessness in ten years*. .

National Alliance to End Homelessness. (2006a). *Housing first: A new approach to ending homelessness for families*. Retrieved from .

National Alliance to End Homelessness. (2006b). *Promising strategies to end family homelessness*. .

National Alliance to End Homelessness. (2006c). *A new vision: What is in community plans to end homelessness?*

National Coalition for the Homeless. (2003). *Poverty versus pathology: What's "chronic" about homelessness*.

National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, Health Division. *Issue brief: State strategies to address chronic homelessness*. Retrieved April 27, 2007.

Nielsen Greg. 2002. *The Norms of Answerability: Social Theory Between Bakhtin and Habermas*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Nietzsche, Friedrich W. 1887. *On the Genealogy of Morals* trans. W. Kaufmann. New York: Viking.

Nilson, Jakob and Wallenstein, Sven-Olov. (Editors.) 2013. *Foucault, Biopolitics and Governmentality*. *Sodertorn University: Stockholm*.

North, C. S. and E. M. Smith 1993. "A comparison of Homeless Men and Women: different populations, different needs." *Community Mental Health Journal* Vol. 29:433-522, No. 5 October, 1993.

Okely, J. and Callaway, H. (eds) 1992. *Anthropology and Autobiography*. London: Routledge.

Ostor, Aikos. 1989. "Is That What Forest of Bliss is All About?: A Response." *Society for* Visual Anthropology Newsletter, Mar., Vol. 5, No. 1: 4-8.

Park, Robert, E. 1936. "Human Ecology." *American Journal of Sociology*. 42(1):1-15.

Park, Robert, E. 1915. The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment." *The American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 20, No. 5 (Mar., 1915): 577-612.

Parsons, Talcott. 1968. *The Structure of Social Action, vols. 1 and 2*. New York: Free Press.

Peirce, Charles, Sanders. 1931-1935. *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*. Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, eds. Vols. 1 -6. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Peirce, Charles, Sanders. 1966. *Selected Writings*. Mineola: Dover Publications.

Phillips, Kendall R. 2002. "Spaces of Invention: Dissension, Freedom and Thought in Foucault." *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 2002. The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA.

Pink, Sarah. 2001. "Picturing Culture: Explorations of Film and Anthropology." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 7, No. 3: 592.

Pink, Sarah.; Kürti, László; and Alfonso, Ana Isabel, eds. 2004. *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*. New York: Routledge. GN 347 W67 2004.

Pink, Sarah. 2007. *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media and Representation in Research*. London: Sage.

Polanyi, Karl. [1944] 1957. *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Poole, Brian. 2001. From phenomenology to dialogue: Max Scheler's phenomenological tradition and Mikhail Bakhtin's development from "Toward a philosophy of the act" to his study of Dostoevsky. In Ken Hirschkop & David Shepherd eds., *Bakhtin and cultural theory* (2nd ed., pp. 109-135). Manchester: Manchester

Popper, Karl. [1945] 1957. *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Poverty, National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty. Annual Report. 2009 Washington, D.C.

Proacci, Giovanni. 1991. "Social Economy and the Government of Poverty" in the *Foucault Effect: studies in governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller. 151-68. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Prosser, Jon, ed. 2003 [1998]. Image-based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers. London: Routledge.

Putnam, Robert. D. 2004. "Who Bonds, Who Bridges, Finds From The Social Capital Benchmark Survey", paper at American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago Illinois, and September.

Rabinow, Paul. 1997. Reflections *on Fieldwork in Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California.

Rabinow, Paul. 2003. *Anthropos Today: Reflections on Modern Equipment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred. R. *1958. Method in social anthropology; Selected essays. Chicago*: University of Chicago Press.

Radthke, Wade. 2009. *Citizen Wealth*. San Francisco: Berret-Koehler.

Ranciere, Jean. 2004. "Who is the Subject of the Rights of Man", *The South Atlantic Quarterly 103 2/3., 297-310*. University Press.

Rapport, Nigel. 2010. "The Ethics of Participant Observation; Personal Reflections on Fieldwork in England." In Peter Collins and Anselma Gallinat (eds). *The Ethnographic Self as Resource. Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography*. New York: Berghan.

Rapport, Nigel. 2003. *I am Dynamite: An Alternative Anthropology of Power*. London: Routledge.

Rathbone, Mark. 2010. "Vagabond!", History Review; March 2005, Issue 51: 8-13 Academic Search Premier, EBSCO host (accessed June 25 2010).

Rawls, John. A 1971. *Theory of Justice*. Cambridge Mass.: Belknap Press.

Reagan Charles E. and David Stewart eds. 1978. *The Philosophy of Paul Ricœur: An Anthology of his Work*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Reed, Lawrence W. 2008. *Great Myths of the Great Depression*. Midland, MI: Mackinac Center.

Reed-Danahay, Deborah. Ed. 1997. *Autoethnography: Rewriting the self and the social*. New York: Oxford.

Reed-Danahay, Deborah. 2004. "Autobiography, Intimacy and Ethnography." In Paul. Atkinson, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont, John Lofland and Lyn Lofland Eds. *The Handbook of Ethnogr*aphy. Los Angeles: Sage. Pp. 407-426.

Ricoeur, Paul. 1994. *Lectures III: Aux Frontières de la philosophie*, Paris: Seuil.

Ricoeur, Paul. 1994b. "The plurality of sources of law" Ratio Juris 7(3): 272–86.

Ricoeur Paul. 2007. History and Truth. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Riles, Annelise. 2001. *The Network Inside Out*. Ann Arbor, USA: University of Michigan Press.

Riles, Annelise. 2003. "Ethnography in the Realm of the Pragmatic: Studying Pragmatism in Law and Politics." *PoLAR*. Vol. 26, No. 2:1-7.

Riles, Annelise. 2006. 'Introduction: in Response', in A. Riles (ed.), Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge (Ann Arbor, USA: University of Michigan Press): 1–40.

Rivlin, Leanne, and Imbimbo, Josephine. 1989. "Self-help efforts in a squatter community: implications for addressing contemporary homelessness." American Journal of Psychology. Dec: 17(6):705-28.

Robinson, Jill. 1994. "White woman researching/representing "other" from apartheid to post-colonialism?" in Ann Blunt and Gillian Rose eds. *Writing Women and Space*. New York: Guilford: 197-226.

Rochberg-Halton, Eugene. 1982. "Situation Structure and the Context of Meaning." *The Sociological Quarterly* 23(Autumn): 455-476.

Rorty, Richard 1980. *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rose, Gillian. 2007. *Visual Methodologies – An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials. London: Sage.*

Rose, Nicolas. 1989. *Governing the Soul: The shaping of the private self*. London: Routledge.

Rose, Nikolas, Miller, Peter. 1992. "Political power beyond the State: problematics of government." *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 173-205.

Rose, Nicolas, 1992b. Governing the enterprising self. In Heelas and Morris eds. *The values of the enterprise culture: the Moral Debate*. (141-164). New York: Routledge.

Rose, Nikolas. 1996. Governing 'advanced' liberal democracies, in: Barry, Andrew, Osborne, Thomas & Rose, Nikolas (eds.), *Foucault and Political Reason. Liberalism, neo-liberalism and rationalities of government*, London: UCL Press, pp. 37-64.

Rose, Nicolas. 1996b. *Inventing Our Selves*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rose, Nicolas 1999. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rose, Nicolas. 2000. *Community Citizenship and the Third Way*, American Behavioural Scientist Vol. 43 No. 9.

Rossi, Peter, H. and James D. Wright. 1987. "The urban homeless: estimating composition and size." *Science* 235:1336-1341.

Rossi, Peter. 1989. *Down and Out In America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rossi, P. 1990. The old homeless and the new homelessness in historical perspective. *American Psychologist, 45,* 954–959.

Rotenberg, R. and G. McDonough. 1993. *The Cultural Meaning Of Urban Space*. Westport: Bergin and Garvey.

Roth, Dee, Jerry Bean, Nancy Lust, and Traian Saveanu. 1985. *Homelessness in Ohio: A Study of People in Need*. Columbus, Ohio Department of Mental Health.

Rouch, Jean. 1975. "The Situation and Tendencies of the Cinema in Africa Part II." *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, Sep., Vol. 2, No. 2: 112-121.

Ruby, Jay. 1975. "Is an Ethnographic Film a Filmic Ethnography?" *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, Sep., Vol. 2, No. 2: 104-111.

Ruby, Jay. 1980. "Exposing Yourself: Reflexivity, Anthropology and Film". In *Semiotica*, 301-2. 153-79.

Ruby, Jay. 1995. "The Moral Burden of Authorship in Ethnographic Film." *Visual Anthropology Review*, Sep., Vol. 11, No. 2: 77-82.

Ruby, Jay. 1996. "Visual Anthropology." In *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, David Levinson and Melvin Ember, editors. New York: Henry Holt and Company, vol. 4: 1345-1351.

Ruby, Jay. 2000. *Picturing Culture: Explorations of Film and Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ruby, Jay. 2005. "The Last 20 Years of Visual Anthropology: A Critical Review." *Visual Studies*, 20 2., 159-170.

Rouch, J. 1974. "The Camera and Man". In *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, 11.: 37-44. *Identities*. London: Routledge.

Sachs, Jeffrey. 2005. *The End of Poverty*. London: Penguin.

Salzman, Phillip. C. 1999. The Anthropology of Real Life: Events in Human Experience. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.

Salzman, Phillip. C. 2002. "On Reflexivity" In American Anthropologist 1043.: 805-813.

Sanjek, Richard. 1990. *Fieldnotes, the making of anthropology*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press.

Sanjek, Richard. 1991. "The Ethnographic Present" in *Man, New Series* vol. 26, no. 4:609-628.

Sayer, Andrew. 2000. *Realism and Social Science*. London: Sage.

Scheler, Max. 1970 [1913]. *The nature of sympathy* (transl. by P. Heath). New York: Archon Books.

Schmitt, Carl. 1966. *The Concept of the Political*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Schneider J. S. 1984. "Tramping Workers, 1890-1920: A Subcultural View in Monkkone E.H." *Walking To Work Tramps in America 1790-1935*. University of Nebraska Press, Nebraska

Scholte, Bob [1969] 1972. Toward a Reflexive and Critical Anthropology. *In Reinventing Anthropology*. Dell Hymes, ed. Pp. 43-57. New York: Pantheon.

Schütz, Alfred. 1964. *Collected papers I: The problem of social reality*. The Hague: Martinus Nijho.

Schütz, Alfred. 1967 [1932]. *The phenomenology of the social world* (transl. by G. Walsh & F. Lehnert). Evanston: Northwestern University.

Senate Committee on Appropriations. (2006, July 26). *Senate Report 109-293*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Sennett, Richard. 1970. *The Uses of Disorder: personal identity and city life*. W.W. Norton, New York.

Sennett, Richard. 2003. *Respect in a world of inequality*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Sennett, Richard. 2006. *The culture of the new capitalism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Shaw Sarah K. 2011. Living in the Liminal: case studies in Ohio. Masters Thesis. Kent State University.

Sherover, Erica. 1979. "The Virtue Of Poverty: Marx's Transformation of Hegel's Concept of the Poor." *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory/Revue Canadienne de theorie politique et sociale*, Vol. 3, No. 1 - Winter/Hiver, 1979.

Shorter, Edward. and Tilly, Charles. 1974.. *Strikes in France, 1830-1968*. New York and Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.

Shragge, Eric. 2003. *Activism and Social Change: lessons for community and local organizing*. Toronto: Broadview Press.

Shuman, Michael. 1998. *Going Local: creating self reliant communities in a global age*. New York: The Free Press.

Simmel, Georg. 1950, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel,* Compiled and translated by Kurt Wolff, Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Simmel, Georg 1971. *Georg Simmel-On Individuality and Social Forms* ed. D. Levine., Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Simmel, Georg. 1997. *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings* eds. D. Frisby and M. Featherstone. London: Sage.

Singer, Marc 2000. *Dark Days*. USA. 94 (81) mins. Black and White. English. Directed and Produced by Marc Singer.

Slack, Paul. 1988. Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England. London: Longman.

Snow, David A., Susan G. Baker, Leon Anderson, and Michael Martin. 1986. "The Myth of Pervasive Mental Illness Among the Homeless." *Social Problems* 33:407- 423.

Snow, David A., Robert D. Benford, and Leon Anderson. 1986. "Fieldwork Roles and Informational Yield: A Comparison of Alternative Settings and Roles." *Urban Life* 15:377-408.

Snow, David and Leon Anderson. 1993. *Down on Their Luck*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Snow, David A., Louis Zurcher, and Gideon Sjoberg. 1982. "Interviewing by Comment: An Adjunct to the Direct Question." *Qualitative Sociology* 5:285-311.

Soja, Edward. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory*. New York: Verso.

Soja, Edward. 1996. *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Soja, Edward. 2010. *Seeking Spatial Justice*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Solenberger, Alice. 1911. *One Thousand Homeless Men, a study of original records*. New York Charities Publication Committee.

Spradley, James P. 1970. *You Owe Yourself a Drunk: An Ethnography of Urban Nomads*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Spradley, James, P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Spry, Tammy. 2010. "Some ethical considerations in preparing students for performative autoethnography." In Denzin, N and M. Giardini eds. *Qualitative Inquiry and Human Rights*. Left Coast Press, California.

Stall, Susan and Stoecker Randy. 1998. "Community Organizing or Organizing Community? Gender and the Crafts of Empowerment." *Gender and Society*, Vol. 12, No. 6, Special Issue: Gender and Social Movements, Part 1 (Dec., 1998), pp. 729-756.

State of Oregon, 2009. *A Home for Hope - A 10-year plan to end homelessness status report, year one*. Ending Homelessness Advisory Council.

Steinbeck, John. 1939. The Grapes of Wrath. New York: Penguin Books.

Stoller, Paul. 1992. *The Cinematic Griot: The Ethnography of Jean Rouch*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stoner, Alexander, M. 2011. "Book Review: On Critique by Luc Boltanski." CATALYST: A SOCIAL JUSTICE FORUM. VOLUME 2: ISSUE 1.

Strathern, Marilyn. 1987. "The Limits of Autoanthropology." In *Anthropology at Home*, ed. By Anthony Jackson. New York: Tavistock (16-38).

Strathern, M. 1999. *Property, Substance and Effect: Anthropological Essays on Persons and Things*. London: The Athlone Press.

Strauss, Anselm. 1956. *The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Street Health. 1998. "Homelessness, Drug Use and Health Risks in Toronto: The Need for Harm Reduction Housing". TDRC, Toronto.

Street Health. 2007. "Failing the Homeless: Barriers in the Ontario Disability Support Program for Homeless People with Disabilities". Toronto.

Street Health Annual Reports 2006-2012. Author. StreetHealth Toronto.

Street Roots 27 May 2009. *Dignity Village today* -– Author. Portland.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2003a) *Blueprint for change: Ending chronic homelessness for persons with serious mental illnesses and co-occurring substance use disorders*.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2003b). *Assertive community treatment: Implementation resource kit*. Retrieved from http://download.ncadi.samhsa.gov/ken/pdf/toolkits/community/02.ACTusersguide.pdf

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2006). *SAMHSA model programs*. Retrieved from http://www.modelprograms.samhsa.gov

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2007.) *The national registry of based programs and practices (NREPP)*. Retrieved from http://nrepp.samhsa.gov/

Suttles, Gerald D. 1968. *The Social Order of the Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Svenningsson Elm, M. 2008. "Understanding and studying Internet culture(s): hybridity and interdisciplinarity." Nordicom Review, 29(2), 85-90.

Swithinbank, Tessa 1997. "Homelessness, self-help, and social identity." *Gender and Development,* Vol. 5, No. 3, Nov., 1997. The Street Press: 45-51.

Syme, William, H. 1904. *Honour All Men: a plea for the vagrant*. Watford: Michael.

Synnott, Anthony. 2009. Re-Thinking Men, Heroes, *Villains and Victims*. Burlington, VT.: Ashgate.

Szakolczai, Arpad. 2000. *Reflexive Historical Sociology*. London: Routledge.

Tafari, Jack 2005. Online article. "The Ongoing Transformation of Dignity Village" http://www.thestreetspirit.org/March2005/dignity.html.

Taylor, C. 1989. *Sources of the Self. The Making of Modern Identity* . Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Tylor, C. 1970. *The Pattern of Politics*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Terkel Studs. 1970. *Hard Times An Oral History of the Great Depression*. New York: Penguin Press.

Thomas, Jim. 1993. *Doing Critical Ethnography*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Tilly, Charles. 1984. *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons*. New York: .

Townsend, Peter. 1979. Poverty in The United States. New York: Penguin.

Tsemberis, Sam. 2004. "Housing First Approach." In Levinson, D. ed. *The Encyclopedia of Homelessness*. Thousand Oaks California: Sage. (278-80).

Tully, Jim. 2009. *Shanty Irish*. Kent: Kent State University Press.

Turner, Stephen. 2008. 'The future of social theory', pp. 551-66 in B.S. Turner (ed.). *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Turner, Bryan. S. 2001. "The erosion of citizenship", *British Journal Of Sociology*, 52 2., 189-210.

Turner, Bryan. S. 2006. *Vulnerability and Human Rights*. Univ. Park, P.A.: Pennsylvania State University.

Turner, Bryan, S. ed. 2009. *Social Theory*. Boston: Wiley-Blackwell.

Turner, Bryan S. and Rojek, C. 2001. *Society and Culture*. *Principles of Scarcity and Solidarity*. London: Sage.

Turner, Stephen. 2009. "The Future of Social Theory" in Turner, Bryan, S. ed. 2009. *Social Theory*. Pp. 551-567. Boston: Wiley-Blackwell.

Turner, Victor. 1967. *The forest of symbols: aspects of Ndembu ritual*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Turner, Victor. 1969. *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Turner, Victor. 1974. *Dramas, fields, and metaphors: symbolic action in human society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Turner, Victor. 1982 "Liminality and the performative genres." In F. Allan Hanson, *Studies in symbolism and cultural communication*. Lawrence: University of Kansas.

Turner, Victor. 1985. "The anthropology of performance." In Edith Turner, *On the edge of the bush*. 177-204. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Turner, Victor W. and Edward M. Bruner eds. 1986. *The anthropology of experience*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. 2000. *Strategies for ending homelessness*.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. 2003. *Ending chronic homelessness: Strategies for action*.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1994. *Priority: Home!: The federal plan to break the cycle of homelessness*. Washington, DC: Author.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 2001. *Guide to continuum of care planning and implementation*.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 0203. *Affordable housing needs: A report to Congress on the significant need for housing: Annual compilation of a worst case housing needs survey*. Washington, DC: Author.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. HUD's fiscal year 2006 notice of funding availability policy requirements and general section to the supernofa for HUD's discretionary U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Department of Health and Human Services, and Department of Veterans Affairs. Notice of funding availability (NOFA) for the collaborative initiative to help end chronic homelessness. 68 Fed. Reg. 4017 (Jan. 27, 2003). programs, 71 Fed. Reg. 3381 (Jan. 20, 2006).

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 2007. *The annual homeless assessment report to Congress*. Washington, DC: Author.

United States, Department of Housing and Urban Development. HUD, 2013. *The 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010;2011;2102;2013 - Annual Homeless Assessment Reports to Congress*. U.S.

Vahabzadeh, Peyman . 2009. "Ultimate Referentiality. Radical Phenomenology and the New Interpretive Sociology. In *Philosophy and Social Criticism* VOL 35 no 4:447- 465.

Valentine, Charles. 1968. *Culture and Poverty: Critique and counter proposals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Vandenberg H. and W. Hall. 2011. "Critical ethnography: extending attention to bias and reinforcement of dominant power relations." Nurse Researcher. Vol. 18. No. 3:25-30.

Vandenberghe, Frederic. 1999. "The Real Is Relational": An Epistemological Analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's Generative Structuralism." Sociological Theory 17: 32-67.

Van Gennep, Arnold. [1908] 1960. *Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge.

Van Manen, Max (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for action sensitive pedagogy*. Albany: SUNY.

Venn, J.; Venn, J. A., eds. (1922–1958). "Haddon, Alfred Cort". *Alumni Cantabrigienses (10 vols)* (online ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Visweswaran, Kamala. 1994. *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Wacquant, Loic. 1996. "Red Belt, Black Belt: Racial Division, Class Inequality and the State in the French Urban Periphery and the American Ghetto." In Mingione, Enzo ed. *Urban Poverty and the Underclass*. (234-270). Malden: Blackwell.

Wacquant, Loic. 2002. *"Scrutinizing the Street: Poverty, Morality and the Pitfalls of Urban Ethnography." American Journal of Sociology* 107:1468-1532.

Wagner, David. 1993. *Checkerboard Square - culture and resistance in a homeless community*. San Francisco: Westview Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2004. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2006. *European Universalism*. New York: the New Press.

Ward, Jim. 1979. *The Street Is There Home. The Hobo's Manifesto*. London: Quartet.

Ware, Robert. 1973. "Acts and Action", *The Journal of Philosophy*, 7013. 403-18

Wasserman, Jason. A. and Jefferey. M. Clair 2010. *At Home on the Street. People, Poverty and a Hidden Culture of Homelessness*. London: Boulder.

Weber, Max 1963. *Max Weber*. Selections from his work, with an introduction by S. M. Miller. New York: Cromwell.

Weber, Max. [1946] 2009. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. eds.. G. Roth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wedderburn, Dorothy. 1974. *Poverty inequality and class structure*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Weisbrod, Burton, Ed. 1965. *The Economics of Poverty: An American Paradox,* Prentice-Hall

Weissman, Eric. 2012. Exile in Dignity-stories of struggle and hope from a Modern American Mount Forest: Exile.

Weissman, Eric. 2010. Unpublished Manuscript, "Are the streets male?" Montreal: Concordia University.

Wellesley Institute. 2006. "The Blueprint to End Homelessness in Toronto". Wellesley Institute, Toronto.

Wellesley Institute 2007. The Street Health Report 2007

Wils, J.P. 1989. "The End of Human Dignity". In *Ethics* Concilium, 203, 1989:29-54.

Willis, P. 2000. *The ethnographic imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Polity.

WoodGreen CS. 2005. "Woodgreen Community Services Homelessness and Housing Help Programs. Report of the Emergency Homelessness Pilot Project: Housing Supports". Woodgreen, May 11, Toronto.

Wolfe, T., ed. 1973. *The New Journalism*. New York: Harper and Row,.

Worth, Sol. 1981. *Studying Visual Communication*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

WRAP – 2010. *Strategizing the Right to the City*. WRAP Working Paper.

Wright, Talmadge. 1997. *Out Of Place. Homeless Mobilizations, Subcities, and Contested Landscapes*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Wright, Talmadge and Mary Jo Huth. 1997. *International Critical Perspectives on Homelessness*. Westport: Praeger.

Wright, Talmadge. 2000. "Resisting Homelessness: Global National, and Local Solutions." *Contemporary Sociology*. Vol. 29. No. 1:27-43

Wright, Talmadge. 2000b. "New Urban Spaces and Cultural Representations: Social Imaginaries, Social Space, and Homelessness." *Researching Urban Sociology*, V. 5. JAI Press. New Perspectives in Urban Sociology Series. 23-57.

Wright Talmadge and Anne Roschelle. 2003. "Gentrification and Social Exclusion: Spatial Policing and Homeless Activist Responses in the San Francisco Bay Area." *Urban Futures: Critical Commentaries on Shaping Cities*, edited by Malcolm Miles and Tim Hall. London: Routledge press. (149-166.)

Wrightson, Keith and Levine, David. 1995. *Poverty and Piety in an English Town*. London: Oxford University Press.

Young, I. M. 1990. *Justice and The Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zimmermann, Ann and Favell, Adrian. 2011. "Governmentality, political field or public

sphere? Theoretical alternatives in the political sociology of the EU." *European Journal of Social Theory 14*(4) 489–515.

Online Sources:

Government of Canada Human Resources and Skills Development Canada - hrsdc.gc.ca/
www.subtextproductions.ca
Dignity Village website. www.dignityvillage.org
Kwamba Productions website. www.kwamba.com
Street Health, Toronto. www.streethealth.ca
Government of Canada Website. www.homelessness.gc.ca
Oregonian articles on Dignity Village – Special:
www.oregonlive.com/portland/index.ssf/2012/07/portlands_dignity_village_expe.html
www.oregonlive.com/portland/index.ssf/2012/11/portland_grants_three-year_con.html
www.sharewheel.org/
www.columbiaecovillage.org
www.wraphome.org/pages/
info@streethealth.ca www.streethealth.ca
http://wellesleyinstitute.com/files/homelesscount2009.pdf
http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2006/06/23/to-homeless20060623.html
http://www.thefreedictionary.com/shanty
http://www.ic.org
www.media.oregonlive.com/portland_impact/other/Dignity%20Village%20Evaluation%20Report%20Final%2003-22-10.pdf
http://right2survive.wordpress.com/.
http://media.oregonlive.com/portland_impact/other/Dignity%20Village%20Evaluation%20Report%20Final%2003-22-10.pdf
HUD- www.hud.gov/

National Coalition for the Homeless www.nationalhomeless.org